OR

# The LIFE and DEATH BIRTH and BURIAL OF O. CROMWELL

The Late

MONARCH OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

# USURPER:

BIBL. CANT. ACAD.

UN-Faithfully Deſcribed.

B*7-6

WITH

An Exact Account of his Policies and Succeſſes.

*Enlarged with many Additions.*

——Furto *lætatus* inani
*Diſtulit in ſeram commiſſa piacula mortem.*
Virg. Æneid.

*LONDON*,
Printed for *Randal Taylor*, and are to be Sold at his Shop at the Signe of the *Crown* in *Little Britain*, 1672.

513:98

# To the READER.

THERE *have been ſo many Vulgar Errours concerning this Perſon, and ſuch miſtakes of his* Faculties *and Natural Endowments, ſome being prone to Indulge* Humanity, *others to* Ballance *his great ſucceſſes with his evil* Deſigns, *and the reſt to* abominate all; *that I thought it worthy the preſent time, while thoſe ſad things we have ſuffered are yet recent in memory, and no lie dare be given to the Sun by an offuſcation of Truth, to purſue his* Life *with this* Memorial.

*The World is not ignorant of Him, and yet thoſe few that* truly love *Him; that is,* Diſturbances, *and* Troubles, *have great* Thoughts of Heart, *as they* phraſe it, *concerning Him; all the different Sects and Schiſme, which he kept in* perpetual ſeparation *and* miſunderſtanding, *now run into a* coalition; *and like* Divided *parcels of dying* Vipers, Spraul *towards a* Union *with this their* Head.

*But they will here find that* poyſon *of* Aſps *under his Lips, which as the* Naturaliſts *tell us, will* envenome *even thoſe of the* Species *that come near it, when it is caſt upon the* ground. *No man either of Reaſon or Sobriety, of that party, can deny, but he was ſuck'd in by that* Peſtilent Air *of his pious pretences, and therefore they will, I hope, accept of this* Antidote *for the future in good part.*

Magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia, *great Virtues and no leſs Vices have been* adapted *to moſt of the great men in the world, whoſe intereſt held the* Scale *for this was ſtill the* Impreſſe *of juſt and rightful*

Monarchs, *whom* Posterity dare say no worse of, because no Better. *But Tyrannies, and the enormous excesses thereof, leave no such* exchange *or* Ballance *of their* Crimes, *nor can their* Policies, Craftiness, *and* Pretences commute *with Prudence, Honesty, or Justice.*

*There hath been indeed an ingenious Essay to commend* Richard *the Third, and to extol him as an* Excellent Prince, *and in this not from any other* Authority *but his* Heroick *and* Famous Actions *in the forreign and Civil Wars of those times: And if this* Hector *be measured by the same* Standard, *in* length *only and not in* breadth, *by the* Martial Feats *of his* Usurpation, *he will make a better Subject for such a* Pen *two Hundred Years hence, then* Fate *for some one Hundred of Years, hath troubled the world with.*

*But when the world shall see that those* Felicities *of his Sword and Brain were derived from, and* accountable *solely to the just* Judgment *of God, who gave us up a deserved prey to the* Spoiler; *and that there was nothing* Extraordinary *in him but in the* Sins *and* Vengeance *of the Times, he being the* Scourge *of our* Iniquity, *they will convert* their Admiration *into a* Reverence *of that* Supreme *over-ruling* Power.

*It is a common, but most observable Sentence of my Lord* Chancellours, *that the* Malicious Influence of some Planets had caused this Horrible Defection and Feud among us: *Some Ages more than other are* infested *with* Trouble-worlds, *Ours especially, for there have more* Revolts, Defections, *and* Secesses *been made in* Europe, *than for many* Centuries before; *not to mention the like commotions, in the neareſt and farthest parts of* Asia, *the* Turkish *and the* Chinese *Empires.*

*In* Europe, *I plate and reckon this* Cromwel *as a Medium*

*Medium or Mean, betwixt two almoſt his* Contemporaries, Wallenſtein *Duke of* Frieſland *the Emperors* General, *who from an obſcure and waſted Barony roſe to that Dignity, and thence aſpired to the* Imperial Diadem, *but periſhed in the attempt*; *and* Thomas Anello *the famous* Fiſherman *of* Naples, *who died in the* frantick poſſeſſion *of the power he had ſo* wonderfully *attained to: For by a* mixt adjument *of Tumults, and Arms, and the* Command *upon the Rabble, and a* mutinous diſloyal Militia, *did* Cromwel *uſurp the Soveraignty, though he had the* fortune (*or we rather the* Happineſs) to dye in his Bed, *after the* fruition *of his envied Greatneſs.*

Tyrants *are like* plagues, *and are well termed* Peſtes Humani Generis, *they do not* raign *or* rage *alwaies in all* Climes *and* Countries, *but come like other wonders into the World; the variety whereof do for the preſent* ſtupifie *and* affli& *the World, and then leave matter of* enquiry *and* diſcourſe, *to* aſſiſt *againſt the ſuddenneſs, and ſome other ſhaped violence* (for ſeldom do they come in the ſame form) *of* another rupture *and* rebellion *againſt* Nature.

*There was ſomething* different *in this mans* Tyranny *from all former* precedents, *as there were ſtronger and ſtranger* Corruptions *of* manners *in the* Times *He lived, ſo that he ſeemed to be accommodated to them. Never were there ſuch wild* ſpeculations, *ſuch* dotages *and* capricio's *in point of* Religion, *which made half the Nation mad, and* run *with* zeal *to the* ruin *of their* Countrey; *Now the* deſtructiveneſs *of theſe* Chimera's *and* Whimſies *of Piety, that* Auſtere Sanctimony *under which we* laboured, *could never better be* diſcovered, *than by the* divine permiſſion *of this mans* arrival *and* aſcent *to the Supreme power, thereby giving the World a* Specimen *of the*

deep miſchief *of pretended and moroſe* Holyneſs.

*This is the* deſign *of* this Biography of Oliver Cromwel, *who hath been excellently* ſhadowed *in the* lineaments of Agathocles *the* Syracuſan Tyrant, *but here he is drawn in his proper and due proportions. There are it muſt be confeſſed, ſome paſſages herein* coincident *with the Hiſtories of the Times, which are borrowed thence; but generally there is very little which is not* Novel *altogether, and with which very few perſons have been acquainted: as it is preſumed, will appear to the Readers Satisfaction, who is deſired candidly to excuſe the tenuity of the* Stile, *in ſo* ample *and ſo* Maſculine *a Subject, conſidering it is an* Epitome *and Abridgement, and to paſs by, or correct the* Errata *in the Printing.*

Vale.

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The

# The Life and Death OF *OLIVER CROMWELL* THE Late USURPER, &c.

FATE, when it had decreed and ordain'd the unhappy Birth of this *Famoso*, by her most secret and hidden malice brought him into the world without any terrible remark of his portentous Life, neither Comets, nor Earthquakes, nor such like Violences of Nature, ushering or accompanying Him, to the declaring and pointing out, that the Scourge of the *English* Empire and Nation was now born; as she did by indiscernible Methods train him up to the possession of the Throne, and as secretly and cunningly, after all his bloody and most nefarious actions, shift him out of it, and with a blast of her spent Fury, turned him into his wish'd for Grave.

Nor did she midwife him into this light, which he so horribly polluted, by any unusual preternatural or monstrous way, not with Teeth or Heels forward, or long Hair, not with any marks upon his Flesh, as is storied of *Julius Cæsar*, our *Richard* the Third, and others; nor were there any presagious dreams or fearful divinations of his Mother when she was impreg-

nate

nate with him, as is mentioned of several, who have proved like him to be the destruction and common Enemies of Mankind.

None of all these Signs revealed or discovered the abstruse, and most reserved deep and mysterious Fortune of this person, The Subtleties, Arts, and Policies of his destiny, potently and irresistibly conspiring with his as close Treasons and dissembled Treacheries, to the ruin and overthrow of this Church and State, singly and insensibly accomplished by the mean and unobserved Hand of this bold and perjurious politique.

All therefore that to this purpose is noted of him is this, that he was born the last year of that wonderful Century of 1500. to begin the next with his fatal Marvails, just before the union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* by King *James*; as if it were congenial to Crowns, as to other lesser accessions of Felicity in private persons, to have at the same instant a temperament and alloy to their lusture and greatness; that as fortunes right hand presented a Scepter, so her left hand was ready with a Scourge to wreak her Envy upon the glory and grandeur of that renowned succession to, and accrument of, Dominion.

Every thing hath its good and evil Angel to attend or haunt it, and that grand and happy revolution was to be afflicted and persecuted by this Fury to an almost dissolution of its well composed, united, and established Frame.

He was born and descended of a very ancient Knightly Family of his Name in the County of *Huntingdon*, where for many ages they have had a very large and plentiful patrimony; it will suffice therefore to reduce him from no further originals than Sir *Henry Cromwel* his Grandfather, a Gentleman highly

highly honoured and beloved both in Court and Country, who had issue Sir *Oliver* his eldest Son, *Henry*, *Robert*, *Richard*, and Sir *Philip* the youngest, (whose Son upon suspicion of poysoning his Master a Lawyer, was accused thereupon and convicted, and hanged some 37 years ago.) This our *Oliver Cromwel* was Son of Mr. *Rob. Cromwel* the third Son of Sir *Henry*, a Gentleman who went no less in esteem and reputation than any of his Ancestors, for his personal worth, till his unfortunate production of this his Son and Heir, whom he had by his wife *Elizabeth Steward* the Neece of Sir *Robert Steward*, a Gentleman of a competent Fortune in that Country, but of such a malign effect on the course of this his Nephews Life, as hereafter shall be declared: that if all the Lands he gave him, (as some were Fenny Ground) had been irrecoverably lost and deluged, by any accident or disaster whatsoever, it might have past for a most propitious providential prevention of that dire mischief and miseries that Estate occasioned.

He was born *April* the 25*th*. in St. *Johns* Parish in the Town of *Huntingdon*, and was Christned in that Church the 29*th*. of the same Month *Anno Domini* 1599. where Sir *Oliver Cromwel* his Uncle gave him his name, being received into the bosome of the Church by her Rights and Ceremonies, both which he afterwards rent and tore, and ungraciously, impiously annulled and renounced.

From his Infancy to his Childhood, he was of a cross and peevish disposition, which, being humoured by the fondness of his Mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outragious in his juvenile years, and adult and Masterless at Mans-estate.

No sooner therefore had he obtained the use of his Tongue,

Tongue, but his Father, careful of his Education, ſent him to School to learn the Elements or Language and principles of Religion; both which he ſtudied with the ſame indifference, and *inſide* and falicious indeavour, as afterwards appeared by his never ſpeaking what he thought, nor believing what he heard, or was inſtructed in: So that his main policy was a radical and original Hypocriſie, which growing up with him, could not but be at laſt after ſo many years of Experience moſt exquiſitly perfected.

From this A.B.C. Diſcipline and the ſlighted Governance of a Miſtreſs, his Father removed him to the Tuition of Dr. *Beard* School-maſter of the Free-School of that Town: where his Book began to perſecute him, and Learning to Commence his great and irreconcileable Enemy; for his Maſter honeſtly and ſeverely obſerving that, and others his Faults (which like Weeds, ſprung out of his rank and uncultivable nature) did by Correction hope to better his manners; and with a diligent Hand, and careful Eye, to hinder the thick growth of thoſe Vices, which were ſo predominant and viſible in him: yet though herein he treſpaſſed upon that reſpect and lenity due and uſual to Children of his Birth and quality; he prevailed nothing againſt his obſtinate and perverſe inclination. The Learning and Civility he had, coming upon him like fits of *Enthuſiaſme*, now a hard Student for a week or two, and then a Truant or *Otioſo* for twice as many Months; of no ſettled conſtancy; the very Tenour and mode of his future Life till his grand attainment.

Amongſt the reſt of thoſe ill qualities which *fluctuated* in him at this Age, He was very notorious for *robbing of Orchards*; a *puerile* crime, and an ordinary treſpaſs, but grown ſo ſcandalous and injurious by the

the frequent spoyls and damages of Trees, breaking of Hedges and Inclosures, committed by this *Apple-Dragon*, that many solemn Complaints were made both to his Father and Master for redress thereof; which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his hide, on which so much pains were lost, that, that very offence *ripened* in him afterwards to the throwing down of all boundaries of Law or Conscience, and the stealing and tasting of the *forbidden fruit* of *Soveraignty*, by which (as the Serpent told him) *He should be like unto a God.*

From this, he passed unto another more manly theft, the robbing of Dove-houses, stealing the young Pidgeons, and eating and merchandizing of them; and that so publiquely, that he became dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent Country: And this was an unhappy allusory *Omen* of his after Actions, when he Robb'd the King his Soveraign of his Innocence and Virtues, and prostituted them to the People and Souldiery, and made the World about him afraid of his Villanies.

'Twas at this time of his Adolescency, that he Dreamed, or a Familiar rather instincted him and put it into his Head, that He should be King of *England*; for it cannot be conceived, that now there should be any such neer resemblance of truth in Dreams and Divinations (besides the Confidence, with which he repeated it, and the difficulty to make him forget the Arrogant Conceit and opinionated pride he had of himself, doth seem to evince, it was some impulse of a Spirit) since they have ceased long ago. However the Vision came, most certain it is, that his Father was exceedingly troubled at it; and having angerly rebuked him for the Vanity, Idleness, and Impudence thereof; and seeing him yet persist in the same presumption, caused Dr. *Beard* to whip him for it; which was done

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to no more purpose than the rest of his Chastisements, his Scholar growing insolent and incorrigible from those results and swasions within him, to which all other dictates and instructions were useless, and as a dead letter.

Now to confirm this Royal humour the more in his ambitious and vain-glorious brain, it happened (as it was then generally the Custome in all great Free-schools) that a Play called *The five Senses*, was to be Acted by the Schollars of this School, and *Oliver Cromwel*, as a confident Youth, was named to Act the Part of *Tactus* the Sense of *Feeling*; in the personation of which as he came out of the Tyring room upon the Stage, his head encircled with a Chaplet of Lawrel, he stumbled at a Crown, purposely laid there, which stooping down he took up, and Crowned himself therewithal, adding beyond his Cue, some Majestical mighty words; and with this passage also the Event of his Life held good analogy and proportion, when he changed the Lawrel of his Victories (in the late unnatural War) to all the Power, Authority, and Splendor that can be imagined within the Compass of a Crown.

Nevertheless the Relation of a Father, and one so stern and strict an Examiner of him, (he being in his own nature of a difficult disposition, and great Spirit, and one that would have due distances observed towards him from all persons, which begat him Reverence from the Countrey-people) kept him in some awe and subjection, till his Translation to *Cambridge*; where he was placed in *Sydney* Colledge, more to satisfie his Fathers curiosity and desire, than out of any hopes of compleating him in his Studies, which never reached any good knowledg of the *Latine* Tongue.

During his short residence here, where he was more famous

famous for his Exercises in the Fields than in the Schools, (in which he never had the honour of, because no worth and merit to, a degree) being one of the chief match-makers and players at Foot-ball, Cudgels, or any other boysterous sport or game; His Father Mr. *Robert Cromwel* died, leaving him to the scope of his own inordinate and irregular will, swayed by the bent of very violent and strong passions.

There is little to be said more of his Father, that is requisite to his Sons story, further than this, that whereas 'tis reported *Oliver* kept a Brew-house, that is a mistake; for the Brew-house was kept in his Fathers time, and managed by his Mother and his Fathers servants; without any concernment of either of these therein, the Accompts being always given to the Mistress; who after her Husbands death, did continue in the same Employment and Calling of a Brewer, and thought it no disparagement to sustain the Estate and port of a younger Brother, as Mr. *Robert Cromwel* was, by those lawful means; however, not so reputable as other gains and Trades are accounted.

It was not long after his Death, e're *Oliver* weary of the muses, and that strict course of life (though he gave latitude enough to it in his wild salleys and flyings out) abandoned the University, and returned home, saluted with the Name of young Mr. *Cromwel* now in the room and place of his Father; which how he became, his uncontrouled debaucheries did publickly declare; for Drinking, Wenching, and the like outrages of licentious youth, none so infam'd as this young *Tarquin*, who would not be contraried in his Lusts, in the very strain and to the excess of that Regal Ravisher.

These pranks made his Mother advise with her self and his friends, what she should do with him, to remove

move the Scandal which had been caſt upon the *Fa*-mily by his means; and therefore it was concluded to ſend him to one of the Inns of Court, under pretence of his ſtudying the Laws: where among the maſs of people in *London*, and frequency of Vices of all ſorts, his might paſs in the throng, without that particular neer reflection upon his Relations, and at worſt the Infamy ſhould ſtick only on himſelf.

*Lincolns-Inn* was the place pitch'd upon, and thither Mr. *Cromwel* in a ſutable Garb to his fortunes was ſent, where but for a little while he continued; for the nature of the place, and the Studies there, were ſo far regretful beyond all his tedious Apprentiſhip to the more facile Academick Sciences, (by reaſon Laws were the Bar and obſtacle of his impetuous reſolutions, and the quite contrary to his looſe and libertine ſpirit) that he had a kind of antipathy to his Company and Converſe there; and ſo ſpent his time in an inward ſpight, which for that ſpace ſuperſeded the enormous extravagancy of former vitiouſneſs. His vices having a certain kind of intermiſſion, ſucceſſion, or Tranſmigration, like a compleat revolution of wickedneſs into one another, ſo that few of his *Feats* were practiſed here: And it is ſome kind of good luck for that honourable Society, that he hath left ſo ſmall and ſo innocent a memorial of his Membership therein.

His next traverſe was back again into the Country to his Mother, and there he fell to his old trade, and frequented his old haunts, conſumed his Money in tipling, and then run on ſcore *per* force: in his drink he uſed to be ſo quarrelſome as (few unleſs as mad as himſelf) durſt keep him company; his chief weapons in which he delighted, and at which he fought ſeveral times with *Tinkers*, *Pedlers*, and the like (who moſt

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an end go armed therewith) was a Quarter-ſtaff; in which he was ſo skilful, that ſeldom did any overmatch him. A boyſterous diſcipline and *Rudiment* of his martial skill and valour, which with ſo much fierceneſs he manifeſted afterward in the enſuing War.

Theſe and the like ſtrange, wild, and diſhoneſt actions, made him every where a ſhame or a terrour; inſomuch that the Ale-wives of *Huntingdon* and other places, when they ſaw him a coming would uſe to cry out to one another, *Here comes young* Cromwell, *ſhut up your Dores*: for he made it no *Punctilio* to invite his Royſters to a Barrel of Drink, and give it them at the charge of his Hoſt, and in ſatisfaction thereof either beat him, or break his Windows, if he offered any ſhew, or gave any look or ſign of refuſal or diſcontent.

His Luſtful wantonneſſes were no leſs predominant than the other unruly appetites of his mind; that there might no vice be wanting to make his Life a *Syſteme* of Iniquity: the publique, open and more ingenious *vilenſſes* of his Youth, becoming the ſeveral dangerous and cruel *Villanies* of his Old Age, it being now his rude cuſtom, to ſeize upon all women he met in his way on the road, and perforce raviſh a kiſs, or ſome lewder ſatisfaction from them: and if any reſiſtance were made by their Company, then to vindicate and allay this violence and heat of his blood, with the letting out of theirs, whoſe defence of their Friends Honour, and Chaſtity, innocently ingaged them. And the ſame riots was he guilty of againſt any who would not give him the way; ſo that he was a *Rebel* in Manners, long before he was a *Belial* in Policy.

I am loath to be too large in ſuch particulars, which

may render me ſuſpect of belying him, out of prejudice or revenge; but I have heard it confirmed ſo often from knowing perſons, and the ſtories made uſe of by his Party, who did thereby magnifie his Converſion, making him thus dear and precious unto God, that I was obliged to mention them, partly as due to this Memoir of him, which pretends to an exact Blography, as well in the minute and ſmall beginnings, as in the grand and moſt important Events of his Life; and partly to ſet him as a remarque againſt all Satanical deluſions of Inſtantaneous Sanctity; with which yet at this very day the World is bewitched, though they have ſeen in him the Tragical, and even Diabolical effects of his Religious Auſterity.

Only one thing I may not omit: by theſe lewd actions he had ſo alienated the affections of his Uncle and Godfather Sir *Oliver Cromwel*, that he could not endure the ſight of him, having in his own preſence in the great Hall of his Houſe, where he magnificently treated King *James*, at his aſſumption to the Crown of *England*, in a *Chriſtmas* time, (which was always highly obſerved by him by *Feaſting*, and keeping open houſe) played this unhandſome and unſeemly trick or frolick; with the Relation of which the Reader will be pleaſed to indulge me, becauſe I have ſeen it r'accounted by a Worthy and Learned hand.

It was Sir *Oliver's* Cuſtome in that *Feſtival*, to entertain in his Houſe a Maſter of Miſ-rule or the Revels, to make mirth for the Gueſts, and to direct the Dances and the Muſick, and generally all manner of Sports and Gambols; this fellow, Mr. *Cromwel* having beſmeared his own Cloths and hands with Sur-reverence, accoſts in the midſt of a friſking Dance, and ſo grimed him and others upon every turn, that ſuch a ſtink was raiſed, that the Spectators could hardly

hardly endure the Room; whereupon the said Master of Mis-rule perceiving the matter, caused him to be laid hold on, and by his command to be thrown into a Pond adjoyning to the House, and there to be soused over head and ears, and rinced of that filth and pollution sticking to him; which was accordingly executed, Sir *Oliver* suffering his Nephew to undergo the punishment of his unmannerly folly.

By this time, and by these ways *Oliver* had run himself out of that little patrimony he had, and brought his Mother to the same near Ruin; when taking a sad prospect, from the brink of this destruction, of his present desperate condition, a giddy inspiration seized him, and all of a sudden so seemed to change and invert him, that he now became the wonder, who just before was the hissing and scorn of all people. And that this Conversion might seem true and real, he manifested it with the Publican first in the Temple, (the Church) which he devoutly and constantly frequented, affecting the Companies and Discourses of Orthodox Divines, no way given to that Schisme of *Non-Conformity*; into which *Oliver* soon after fell, not out of *Seduction* and Ignorance, but *Sedition*, and Malice, and treasonable design.

But this appearance of such a Reformation in him (as he no doubt forecast it) did effectually conduce to his present purpose; for these Reverend Divines, glad of the return of this Prodigal, made it their business to have him received and welcomed with the farted Calf, to remove the prejudices that lye upon the objected narrowness of Christianity: and therefore severally & joyntly they deal with Sir *Robert Steward* his Uncle (for Sir *Oliver* would by no means hear of him as being assured and confirmed against him out of some good hints certainly of his own observation) to

take him into his favour: & did at last prevail so upon him, that he declared him his Heir, and, dying soon after, left him an Estate of four or five hundred pounds a year; which being got and obtained by so impious a practise, a kind of inverted *Symony*, to purchase Lands by Counterfeit Gifts and Graces, could not escape the canker of Sacriledg; but in few yeares mouldred away piece-meal, nothing at all remaining thereof but a Thatcht House, with some Lands of Forty or fifty pounds a year, in a Town called *Wells*, within four miles of *Wisbitch* in the Isle of *Ely*.

In the *Interval* of this Estate, having served himselfof those Venerable Divines, he fell in with some of the precisser sort; began to shew himself at Lectures, to entertain such Preachers at his house, to Countenance that way, and be very Zealous in all meetings of such People, which then began to be frequent and numerous; and to exercise with them by Praying and the like; to estrange himself from those his benefactors; and at last to appear a publique Dissentor from the Discipline of the Church of *England*. He had matched, a little before, upon the account of this estate in Reversion, with a Kinswoman of Mr. *Hambdens*, and Mr. *Goodwins* of *Buckinghamshire*, by Name *Elizabeth*, Daughter of one Sir *James Bowcher*, whom he trained up and made the waiting Woman of his Providences, and Lady-rampant of his successful greatness, which she personated afterwards as Imperiously as himself; so did the *Incubus* of his Bed make her partaker too in the pleasures of the *Throne*. These Men eminent for Puritanism, together with their Preachers set him up as the prime man of his county, for Religion, Integrity, and and true Godliness.

But his Estate still decaying, he betook himself at last

laſt to a Farm, being parcel of the Royalty of St. *Ives*; where he intended to Husband it, and try what could be done by endeavour, ſince nothing (as yet) ſucceeded by deſign: and accordingly, took ſervants, and bought him all Utenſils and Materials, as Ploughs, Carts, *&c.* and the better to proſper his own and his Mens Labour, every morning before they ſtirred out, the Family was called together to prayers, at which Exerciſe, very often, they continued ſo long, that it was nine of the Clock in the morning before they began their work; which aukward beginning of their Labour ſorted with a very ſorry Iſſue; for the effect of thoſe prayers was, that the Hinds and Plowmen ſeeing this zeal of their Maſter, which diſpenſed with the profitable and moſt commodious part of the Day for their labour, thought they might borrow the other part for their pleaſure; and therefore commonly they went to plough with a pack of Cards in their Pockets, and having turned up two or three Furrows, ſet themſelves down to game till dinner time; when they returned to the ſecond part of their Devotion, and meaſured out a good part of the afternoon with Dinner, and a repetition of ſome Market Lecture that had been preached the day before. And that little work that was done, was done ſo negligently and by halves, that ſcarce half a Crop ever reared it ſelf upon his Grounds; ſo that he was (after five years time) glad to abandon it, and get a friend of his to be the Tenant for the remainder of his time.

During his continuance here, he was grown (that is pretended to be) ſo juſt, and of ſo ſcrupulous a Conſcience, that having ſome years before won 30. pounds of one Mr. *Calton* at play meeting him accidentally, he deſired him to come home with him and to receive his money, telling him that he had got it by indirect

and unlawful means, and that it would be a ſin in him to detain it any longer; and did really pay the Gentleman the ſaid thirty pounds back again.

Now was he therefore thinking of tranſporting himſelf and his Family into *New-England*, a receptacle of the *Puritan*, who flocked thither amain, for Liberty of Conſcience: But he indeed, for that his purſe and credit were ſo exhauſted that he could no longer ſtay here. Which reſolution he had taken up before the Eſtate of his Uncle fell to him, and was put aſide it, by the amplitude of that Fortune to maintain him here: and that at laſt (though waſted and gone) rendred him a Candidate for the enſuing Parliament, and ſupplied him before with the Ability of diſburſing 500 *l.* upon account of *Iriſh* Adventures towards the ſetling a Plantation in *Ulſter*, in that Kingdom. Yet was this the very laſt remains of that acceſſional Inheritance, he being forced to borrow in Town here very precariouſly and by the mediation of friends (though no greater ſum than (10 pounds) nay formerly ten ſhillings were acceptable) at ſeveral times, which he received with this inducing Expreſſion; That though ſometime he had made no conſcience of repaying any money, yet he would punctually now keep his word; which indeed he did juſtly obſerve; and this an Eminent Citizen his Friend and School-fellow hath often declared. The laſt ſum he borrowed being very anxiouſly beſought and intreated, as riſing to a 100 *l.* which upon his growing Greatneſs pleaſured him, and and was moſt abuſefully employed in hyring Wagons for the Earl of *Eſſex's* Army, then advancing againſt the King. To this conſtant and inſuperable indigency and ebbe of Fortune was he kept and decreed to the brink of our Troubles, that his ruines and private miſery might the more induſtriouſly force him to the reparation

paration of them, by the publick calamities, and then carry him to the mixt affluence and exceſſes of wealth and State-Uſurpation.

In this new Converſation and change, he was grown ſo cunning, as to comply with thoſe ſilent modes of Kindneſſes and private conveyances of Friendſhips, which imported him a great deal more then he exported, for he was very much in the eſteem of the beſt of the Faction.

Nor did he omit any other duty or civility, or Office of love to any, eſpecially to thoſe of the Houſhold, as they then termed the people of the Separation; inſomuch that he had ſcrued himſelf into the affections of many well-meaning people, whoſe aſſiſtance he obtained againſt his uſe for it in his election to the long Parliament; of which preſently.

He was a great ſtickler likewiſe againſt Ship-money, in which danger his great friend and Patron Mr. *Hambden* was ſo far embarqued: nor was he better affected to the *Scotch* War, then growing on, as he to his hazard diſcovered himſelf to ſome chief Commanders of the *Engliſh* Army, who in their march againſt the *Scots* quartered at his houſe; which Diſcourſes drawing ſuſpicion upon him, made him the more popular in thoſe parts which were generally infected with Puritaniſme.

About the ſame time on Mr. *Bernards* coming to be Recorder of the Town of *Huntingdon*, ſome difference about precedency of place happened between them, (*Oliver's* Spirit being too high to yield to any perſon in that Town, where his Family had continued of the beſt rank ſome years together) and therefore to avoid the Ceſſion of his Honour to another, he withdrew himſelf into the Iſle of *Ely*, where he more frequently and publickly, owned himſelf a Teacher, and

did preach in other mens as well as in his own house, according as the brotherhood agreed and appointed.

While he continued here in this fashion, there were discourses of new Writs issuing out for the Parliament in 1640: and about the same time or a little before, it was the hap of one *Richard Tyms* since Alderman of *Cambridge*, and a man generally known throughout all the late times, having sate in all the *Junctо's* thereof to be at a Conventicle, (as he usually every *Sunday* rode to the Isle of *Ely* to that purpose, having a brother who entertained them in his course) where he heard this *Oliver*, with such admiration, that he thought there was not such a precious man in the Nation; and took such a liking to him, that from that time he did nothing but ruminate and meditate on the man and his Gifts.

And by this slender wire was such an Engine moved, that afterwards tore up the Church and State; that the Reader will perceive his solicitous busie Fate cast alwaies about to compass her design of his advancement: and all by such uncouth and strang passes, such unexpected & ungovern'd contingency of things, that she hath left him as the only Example, whom by the meanest Offices and Artifices and Pragmatick insinuation she ever raised to any such sublimity.

For this *Richard Tyms* before the writs were issued out (in which time he had opportunity of hearing once and again) began to hammer in his head a project of getting him chosen a Burgess for *Cambridge*, himself being then but one of the 24. and with this device he presently repaired to one Mr. *Wildbore* a Draper, a Kinsman of *Cromwels* and a Non-conformist likewise; and after some commendatory language of *Oliver*, propounded to him the choosing of him Burgess; to which *Wildbore* answered that it was impossible, because he was no Freeman of the Town.

This

This almoſt daſhed the Project: notwithſtanding as he was returning home, his mind gave him to ask the advice of his Neighbour *Ibbot* a Tallow-chandler, whom he found working in his Frock, and who gave him the ſame anſwer: and thereupon *Tyms* concluded to ſurceaſe the deſign, and departed. But before he was far from the houſe, *Ibbot*, hankering after the buſineſs, had thought of an expedient, and cauſed him to be called back, when he told him, that the Major had power to make a Freeman, and ſaith he you know Mr. *Kitchinman* the Attorney (who was a Puritan likewiſe) he and the Major have married two Siſters; It is poſſible he may perſwade his Brother to confer his Freedom upon Mr. *Cromwell*, and to that purpoſe you, and I, and Mr. *Wildbore* will go to Mr. *Kitchinmans* preſently, and ſpeak to him about the buſineſs, but the Major muſt not know the reaſon and deſign of it; for he is a perfect Royaliſt.

Accordingly they three went to *Kitchinman's*, laid open the worth of *Cromwel*, and eaſily engaged him in the Plot: the ſame night he went to the Majors, by name Alderman *French*, and finding him at ſupper, without more adoe acquainted him with his buſineſs, told him that one Mr. *Cromwel* had a mind to come and dwell in the Town, but firſt he would be made a Freeman, that he was a deſerving Gentleman, and that he would be an honour and ſupport to the Town, which was full of poor; and many more good Morrows: to which the Major anſwered, that he was ſorry he could not comply with his deſires, for he had engaged his Freedom already to the Kings Fiſherman, and could not recede from his word; whereto *Kitchinman* preſently replied, Brother, do you give your Freedom to Mr. *Cromwel*, I'le warrant and take upon me that the Town ſhall give a Freedom to the ſaid Fiſher-

Fitherman, and with some other words perswaded the unwary Major to consent.

All this while *Cromwel* was utterly ignorant what had been transacted at *Cambridge*, but now *Tyms* sent him word, that in order to make him a Burgess, he with his party had procured a Freedom from the Major; that therefore he should not fail to be there the next Court day. This message *Cromwel* received with a like gladness and wonder, and not to be wanting to the Industry and zeal of the Faction, came privately to *Cambridge* the day before, and took up his lodging at one *Almond's* a Grocer.

Next day the Court being sate, the Major rose up, as the manner is, and declaring that he had conferred his Freedom upon a right worthy Gentleman, Mr. *Cromwel*, using the same Character of him which he had received from *Kitchinman*; and here upon a Mace was sent to bring *Cromwel* into the Court, who came thither in a Scarlet Coat layed with a broad Gold Lace, and was there seated, then sworn and saluted by the Major, Aldermen, and the rest with, *Welcome Brother.* In the mean while *Cromwel* had caused a good quantity of Wine to be brought into the Town-house, (with some Confectionary-stuffe) which was liberally filled out, and as liberally taken off, to the warming of most of their Noddles; when *Tyms* and the other three spread themselves among the Company, and whispered into their Ears, *Would not this man make a brave Burgess for the ensuing Parliament?* which being still'd in, with the merry juyce *gratis* and plentifully given them, could not but have a kind operation in the next occasion: and a fortnight after another Common Hall was called for the said Election of Burgesses, where was first named Mr. *Lowry*, who carried it by the general suffrage, after him one Mr.

*Mutis*

*Mutis* a Councellor, and he had the Votes of a great many, all of them Royalists; lastly our *Oliver* was named, and the Faction bauled as if they were mad, and by plurality of voyces carried it clear from Mr. *Mutis*.

When the Major now perceived the Jig, and how *Kitchinman* had fooled him, he could have pulled the Hair off his Head: but the thing was remediless, he was legally chosen for the Faction had brought men thither, that had left off their Gowns for 30 years together. In the mean while the Zealots Triumphed that they had got such a Champion, and indulged their bellies at his Cost, most of which he borrowed, while by this means the Kingdom had one Viper more fostered, to the exenterating of her bowels,

Before I leave this Subject, I must inform the Reader, that the Commissioners of the late Act for Corporations coming to *Cambridge*, and, having displaced Alderman *Tyms* and others for not abjuring the Covenant, did likewise put the same abjuration to Alderman *French* then Major in 1663. again, who had wheeled from his Loyalty during the War who very frankly renounced it, and by it supposed and hoped to continue in his Majorality; but the Commissioners, coming to understand this story of *Oliver*, three days after sent for his Mace, and within three dayes after he dyed with the conceit of the Business.

Having now attained his desire and aims, which was to help to blow up those Coals of dissention and rage, which had kindled in the breast of his male-content party so long, and now were like to have free vent to the setting the Kingdomes into a conflagration; like a right incendiary, where he found any grievance complained of, he would make himself a party concerned in it, enquire into the number and strength

ſtrength of the Faction that managed the complaint, proffer his and his friends aſſiſtance, encourage them to clamour againſt the male-adminiſtration, and generally ſet a foot thoſe miſchievous petitions, which were brought thick and threefold to the Parliament; till his Faction had ſo exaſperated the King againſt them, that there ſeemed no poſſibility of reconciling them, making even all the Kings moſt earneſt endeavors for an accommodation, Arguments of refuſing it. And though at firſt he was none of the principal of the Cabal, being taken in and tutor'd by Mr. *Pym* and *Hambden*, (as finding him of a bold and undertaking Spirit of what miſchief ſoever was propounded to him) yet was he notably and highly inſtrumental and ſubſervient to the Conſpiracy; and at laſt aroſe to ſuch a knowledg and capacity of the myſtery, that he ſcorn'd their puny rudiments, when with a deeper *Atheiſme* he ſet up for himſelf.

The determinate time was now come, for which the Cabal of the *Puritan* had ſo long laboured; and that none of thoſe things which had been ſo directfully Propheſied of their Schiſme (if it ever ſhould attain any power or prevalency) might *want*, or rather not exceed belief; The whole Kingdom of a ſuddain, as if ſome magical Charm had transform'd the State and ſhape of it, ſeemed rather a Scene or boſcage of wilde and brutal Creatures, than a Governed or civil Community. But becauſe this particular hath been ſo largely treated of, and is yet freſh in memory, and will hardly ever be forgotten; it will not be much material to urge it further unleſs to the maintenance of this Maxime; That the Uproars and Rebellions of Subjects, upon what pretenſe ſoever, do always end in the greateſt Tyrannies, and turn to their moſt unſufferable

ſerable and ignominious miſeries; and that their Darling *Demagogues*, whom with Applauſes and Arms they have ſhouldred up, and have reared and exalted above the reach of the Law, make it no nicety afterwards to trample upon the Necks of their raiſers; and to ſwim in their Blood, whoſe itching ſwell'd their ambition to the Throne.

Nor did the *Volge* know when, or could their *Bontefeus* tell where to ceaſe, what Iſſue would happen of theſe their troubles; Raſh and blind Furies, that made way to the unobſerved advancement of this private Male-content; who, like *Marius* from his lurking holes in the Fens of *Minturnæ* after the defeat of his fortunes, crept into the Supreme Power, and died his purple with a more indelible tincture of Noble and *Plebeian* blood.

The Jealouſies and Fears and the like picques and quarrelling pretences of the Parliament proving hopeleſs of reconcilement or accommodation by the artificers of a Faction, wherein Mr. *Pym*, *Hambden*, and other *Puiſnes* with *Cromwel*, mainly buſied themſelves: And the juſt Judgment of God giving us up, our Peace, Proſperity and Plenty to the Calamity of a moſt unnatural War: the long deſired occaſion and expectation of thoſe, who had lodg'd their private hopes in the Common Ruine, did moſt gladſomely ſalute the Deſigns of *Oliver*; who, having ſpent the utmoſt Farthing of his Eſtate, and ſecured from an Impriſonment by his priviledg as a Member, was one of the firſt of thoſe adventurous Knights that mounted the *Good Cauſe* behind them, and ſo took the field; which now Ploughed with Swords and Spears, and watered with Blood, anſwered its long denyed increaſe, and from a luckleſs Peſant made him a fortunate Pedant Prince.

For

For *Enyo* no sooner sounded her Trumpets under the Earl of *Essex*'s Banners then entitled *Generalissimo* for the King and Parliament, but *Cromwel* offered him his Service, and was thereupon honoured with a Commission of Captain of Horse; which to raise, he returned to his own County of *Huntingdon*: where among the Zealots he was never had in greater Estimation. He was also named a Commissioner in the Ordinance for the *Militia*, for that and the neighbouring Shires then entering into an Association against the King, the Ground-work and eminent endeavour of this great Conspirator, in pursuance of that rebellious Project of his party at *Westminster*; following herein the practice of all Ring-leaders, who do first collect Rabbles, and engage and assure places of retreat and fastness to all Events, though herein he practiced the more difficult and unprecedented combination of a people, for Wealth, and Sobriety, and Civility, and (for a great part most contrary to his Designs) little to be suspected of taking part with him. But it so luckily evened to him, that by his lopping off, as it were, this Limb of the Kingdom, and depriving the King thereby of any assistance thence, and of the convenience of the Ports of those Eastern Counties for any forraign supplies, one *Canton* of the Kingdon was as planet-struck in point of Allegiance, and not only a Member.

———*Mancum & inutile dextræ*, Pers.

but of a very sinister consequence to the Royal Cause, the Gangrene thereof spreading and diffusing it self through the whole Masse of the Nation, by feeding the Humourous rage of the War through the whole distemper thereof, till it finally consumed all; this being the abundant

abundant Magazin of Men and Horſes for the Parliament Service.

This therefore was *Cromwel's* firſt Province or Superintendency, wherein he exerciſed the original Office of a Major General, when as yet he founded no more than a Captain, being the chief Committe-man of the Aſſociation, making himſelf moſt notably eminent by his Activity and zealous induſtry in promoting the Good Cauſe, and Levying and Lifting of Forces, and Diſciplining them, the skill whereof he had preſently learned, from an exact obſervation of ſome veteran Commanders, *viz.* Colonel *Dolbier*, whom he had by great ſums of Advance-money, and as extraordinary pay allured to his ſide.

The groſs of thoſe Troops he raiſed here, and ſent from this Seminary to the Camp and School of Action, were ſuch, whoſe dull Spirits were to be beaten into the knowledg of Arms, and like the *Turks Aſapi* were on purpoſe ſent thither to blunt the Weapons of the Kings generous Cavalry, and thereby to beget in them a relaſch and contemptuous neglect of ſo baſe and deſpicable an Enemy: That ſuch their ſecure confidence might conclude their ruine. He himſelf was all the while continued by eſpecial Order of Parliament in this Employment, like an *Independent* Commander, to have an Eye upon any Attempts that might be made thereabouts, and as a *Purer* and preciſer reſerve to the *mixed* multitude, that then from the equal motives of pay and zealotry ruſht into the War.

And therefore *Oliver*, underſtanding how miſerably the Cavalry freſh men of his party were worſted at every Encounter, and well knowing the nature of the Quarrel (which was pretended for Religion) reſolved and adviſed, that there were no men ſo likely to

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oppose the conquering Gallantry of those Gentlemen on the Kings side, than such who were or should be engaged upon account of Conscience and Zeal, which would spirit them with the same magnanimous Fortitude, and make them also to endure the difficulties and hardships of the War with a more pertinacious Constancy; as having bodies better able, and minds more finely sublimed upon that score *pro aris & focis*, than the mixed and most rascally Herd of loose and vicious people.

But yet prudently considering, that in so long an interval and vacancy of War, from which this Nation had been blessed, the most forwardest Hotspurs on the account of zeal, might quale and shrink at the noise of the Battel, and their spiritual proud courage abate at the encounter, and never defie a Cavalier again after one dismal alarum and fright of a discomfiture; He would first prove and try his Troopers how they could endure a sudden terrour, and by that grow hardy to the Constancy of danger: (as Eagles certifie themselves of the genuine Race of their young ones, by their experiencing how they can out-stare and brave the Sun, and imitate them with a bold and passive Fortitude, the Hardy Rudiments of their fighting predatory life:) for as he relied on one hand upon their Religious Resolution and Spiritual valour, so did he not reject the Arm of *Flesh*, which should actuate those inward impulses, and by a just temprament of both to a true metal, conduct and manage their sober and well-governed bravery to an assurance of Success and Victory; and such whose hearts failed, he resolved to dismount them, and give their Horses to more couragious Riders. This he did by a *Stratagem* upon the first Muster of his Troop; when having privily placed twelve resolute men in an *Ambuscado*, (it being neer some

some of the Kings Garrisons) upon a signal or the appointed time, the said Ambuth with a Trumpet sounding a charge, galloped furiously to the Body, out of which some 20. instantly fled out fear and dismay, and were glad the forfeiture was so cheap and easie, and ashamed of their childish and disgraceful deserting of their station and Colours, had not the Confidence to request their continuance in his service, or deny, or scruple the rendring their Horses to them who should fight the Lords Battel in their stead.

His next design upon the place, was to make a convenient Garrison thereabouts, which should as well respect his forces security, as the annoyance of the Kings; and therefore he pitcht upon *Whitlesea*, where a Bridge joyns the County of *Norfolke* with the Isle of *Ely*, and no other passages from thence into *Lincolnshire*, most whereof was Garrison'd by the Royal Party: and by this means he did first prevent and cut off all intercourse betwixt the Loyal Gentlemen of both; advised and assisted herein by *Ireton*, who first came to his acquaintance in this place, and was afterwards famous for his nimble Seizure of some Gentlemen at *Burleigh-House* near *Grantham*.

Against the dangerous evil of this Association, the King directed His *Commission of Array*, which was first put in Execution in *Hartford-shire* by Sir *Henry Conisby*, High Sheriff of that County, who proclaimed it at St. *Albans*, and intended to raise the County to the Kings Assistance; but by the vigilance of *Oliver Cromwel*, the Design was prevented. For by that time the Members at *Westminster* had notice of Sir *Henry*'s Loyal Endeavour, *Cromwel* with a party of Horse had surprized and seized that party almost in the very instant of their Appearance, and sent Sir *Henry*, and some other prime Gentlemen

engaged with him Prisoners to *London*, to the great satisfaction and liking of the Parliament Grandees, who were at first agast at an attempt made for the King so near their own dores: and thereupon this their Commander was ordered the Thanks of the House, and from thence forward look'd upon as an eminent person, and a Champion of the Cause, which now jeoparded it in the field: when the towardly Settlement of these parts with-held *Cromwel* in this Province, which like a parcel of the former Heptarchy he himself ruled and governed absolutely and *pro imperio*.

His next piece of Service was of the like nature, and of the same evil Consequence to the King. For divers Gentlemen of the County of *Suffolk* (another of the associated Counties) resenting this Curb upon their Allegiance, and sawcy Edicts and Commands of the Committees, which were made up of the meanest of the Gentry, and Burgesses of the Towns, designed together to free themselves & their Country from the yoak of these new Lords: The chief of these Gentlemen were Sir *John Petus*, Sir *Edward Baker*, &c. who having, in order to their Conjuncture, rendezvouzed at *Lowerstoft* in that County, were by the preventing diligence of *Cromwel* seized and secured; and thereby such a Break-neck given to any future Royal undertaking in those parts (the rendition of *Lyn Regis*, which then held for the King, soon after following this defeat and disappointment) that throughout the whole course of the War, there happened not any the least commotion in favour of his Majesties Arms, either by supply, assistance, or diversion.

Things being thus quieted thereabouts and disposed to the interest of the *Junto*, there remained after the Military part, a Scholastical labour for this Parlia-

mentary

mentary *Hercules*, the zealous cleansing of the Uni-
versity of *Cambridge*, the Parent of this Viper, who
just before his infectious production into the main
Army,( whither he was now designed ) did miserably
*exenterate* her, leaving her a sad and doleful Skeleton,
deprived of so many learned and religious persons,
whose only Charge was, that they adhered to the dic-
tates of their Conscience, and the Obligation of
those Oaths, which just Authority had enjoyned, a-
gainst those novel and illegal Commands and Cove-
nants, forcibly imposed and obtruded on them. In
this destructive work, his module and method of Am-
bition, *Cromwel* was mainly and chiefly active, as al-
so against the Orthodox and Protestant Ministry, and
their Churches, defacing all the Ornaments and Beau-
ty thereof, leaving them the runious Spectacle of his
Reformation.

And from this Employment now finished, he was
Commissioned Lieutenant General to the Earl of
*Manchester*, who had the separate Command in a di-
stinct Supremacy of these associated Counties, and
was designed to march Northwards with those Forces
and joyn with the *Scots* newly entred *England*, and
the Lord *Fairfax* against the Marquis of *New castle*,
who was General for the King in those parts, and yet
ballanced the Fortune of the War against that potent
*Scotch* Invasion; but upon the conjuncture and addi-
tion of the Earl of *Manchester's* fresh, and well Dis-
ciplined, and Armed forces, the said Marquis was con-
strained to quit the field, and distribute his Army, into
the Garrisons, he himself shutting up the best part of
it in the City of *York*, which the Confederates pre-
sently besieged, and made several venturous attempts,
wherein *Cromwel* was none of the backwardest,
though always repulsed with loss and considerable
slaughter.

The importance of this place, and juncture of time, which either won or loſt the North to the King (who newly had great ſucceſs in the Weſt, by the defeating of the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Leſtithiell* in *Cornwall*) cauſed him to ſend away Prince *Rupert* as *Generaliſſimo*, with a very potent Army to raiſe that Siege, and fight the Enemy if he found occaſion. The Prince accordingly advanced, and upon his approach the Confederates drew off from their Leaguer, affording the Garriſon liberty to joyn with their friends: when it was reſolved by the Prince, without any delay to give battel; though the Marqueſs knowing what hazard the Kings Intereſt, and his own, and all the Loyal parties Eſtates would thereby be put to, did very much diſwade the ſuddenneſs of the Encounter: which notwithſtanding enſued on the Evening of the ſame day, *July* 2. on *Marſton-moor* within three miles of *York*, and laſted till dark night.

Here in the beginning the *Scots* and my Lord *Fairfaxes* forces were totally routed and purſued ſome miles out of the field, and the day given for loſt; when *Cromwel* with his aſſociated Horſe, moſt of them Curaſſiers in the left Wing, ſeeing this diſcomfiture, fell on with great reſolution and courage, and worſted the Prince and his Reſerves; and with the ſame fury fell upon the Marquiſſes foot, whoſe Regiment of *White-Coats*, and therefore called his Lambs, yet ſtood, and could not be broken, till the field being almoſt cleared, the Parliaments Infantry came up, and then both horſe and foot charged and broke them. *Cromwel* here made a very great ſlaughter and Carnage, eſpecially in the rout and purſuit, purpoſely to make his name terrible; this being his firſt and grand appearance, gaining here the Title of *Ironſides*, from the impenetrable ſtrength of his Troops, which could by no means be broken or divided.

vided. Being here at the first charge of the Cannon, endangered with a grasing shot, feared by his Men to be hurt therewith, he replied merrily, *A Miss is as good as a Mile.*

The success of this day made him indeed highly famous, and his Laurels most verdent & flourishing, the victory being principally ascribed to his courage and conduct. His Cunctation and temperate delay were highly magnified; and then his Resolution in the desperation of the event extolled the firmness and constant equality of his mind: when intrepidly and fixedly he beheld the overthrow of the gross of their Army, and thereby animated his Troops to the more vigorous recovery of the day, now that the adverse fury was spent in the chase of their fellows the *Scots*, whom *Crom.* ever afterwards though in Covenant with them, most disdainfully despised, but not only for this reason.

The credit of this Atchievement was industriously cryed up at *Westminster*, and all the Grandezza's of Scripural *Ovation* fitted and accommodated thereto; He himself with the same conquering Troops, as yet in the same quality under the Earl of *Manchester*, was remanded from the North to oppose the King, then returning victorious out of the West; and because the Earl of *Essex* had hitherto been unfortunate, therefore this lucky Chieftain was added as his better Star, at the second Battel of *Newbury*, within four Months after *Marston-Moor*; and here again the Fates favoured him, though not with a compleat Victory, yet on that side where he fought with a part of one, and so much as endangered the person of the King, if the noble and stout Earl of *Cleveland* had not hazardously interposed, and bore off the pursuit.

This indifference of Fortune begot very great differences among the Parliament Commanders, one

Taxing the other of Neglect, Treachery, or Cowardize, and by what means it could come to paſs that nothing was yet effected againſt the King, whom in the beginning of the War they had thought to have ſwallowed up preſently. Nor were the diviſions leſs at home than in the Camp, for now the younger Brother of the Rebellion, the *Independent Faction* began to appear; a preciſer and ſeverer ſort of Zealots, who thought *Eſſex* and his Army not righteous enough, nor fit inſtruments, in whoſe hand the work of Reformation ſhould ever be bleſſed to an attainment, and that therefore it was fit the Army ſhould be purged of ſuch Officers, or the Cauſe would never proſper. To the ſame purpoſe *Oliver* was tampering with his *Myrmidons*, frequently bewailing the want of Faith and Grace in the heart of the Soldiery, which alone retarded the deſired concluſion, that the great men of the Army minded themſelves more than God or his people, and that purpoſely they protracted the War, not ſparing to inſimulate his own General the Earl of *Mancheſter* of the ſame prevarications, aggravating the affront he received before *Dennington Caſtle*, and ſome other later miſcarriages, which coming to the ear of the ſaid Earl, who rightly gueſſed the ambitious Drift of his Lieut. General, He cauſed a Charge and Impeachment to be drawn up againſt him for ſome miſdemeanors in the Army, as ſtirring up of mutiny, *&c.* and delivered it to the Lords, to whoſe Bar *Cromwel* was ſummoned, but he refuſed their Juriſdiction, pleading his priviledg as a Member of the Houſe of Commons, who alone had Cognizance of him: and to be even with the Earl, recriminated him in the ſame manner to the Houſe of Commons, but both theſe accuſations ſtuck upon the file without any proſecution on either ſide, either party as yet afraid

fraid of the other, and destrustful of their plots, not having yet attained the absolute power from the King, which was the only Subject of the Quarrel. So soon did these Twins of the Usurpation struggle in the Womb of their Ambition, and through *Presbytery* was Midwife first, yet *Independency* carried away the Blessing, or rather the Curse of their prosperous Violence.

For the *Independents* had insinuated such plausible Expedients for the redress of this evil Manage of the Army, and by their austere Piety (which *Oliver* most devoutly personated, being frequent in praying and preaching in his Quarters) had conciliated such an esteem of their Counsels, which were absolute Intrigues to the contrary Faction, that a Resolution was taken to module the Army, and appoint a new General; and in this Consultation great part of the Winter 1644. was taken up: the rest was spent in a seeming tendency to Peace, by a Treaty held at *Uxbridge*; which Affair concerned *Cromwel* no further than thus, that it shewed how eminent and great a man he was taken to be, being named in the Parliaments Demands and Propositions, for one of the standing Commissioners, to whose trust and exercise the *Militia* of the Kingdom (upon agreement) should be committed.

While these and the like Articles were in vain debating, the prosecution of the War was effectually intended; and the New module so far advanced, that an Ordinance passed the two Houses, wherein it was forbidden any Member of either House to have any command in the Army or Garrisons: and the time limited to forty dayes from the publishing of the said Ordinance. By this fair and impartial dealing (as they called it!) the Earlof *Essex*, *Manchester*, *Stamford*,

*ford*, and *Denbigh*; Sir *william Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and others were laid aside, only Lieutenant Gen. *Cromwel* was respited for a while longer, because of his present usefulness in that unsetled Condition of the Army, and because he had been of an unexampled success and Conduct. In the place of *Essex*, Sir *Tho. Fairfax* was made General: and he issued out Commissions to such whom the *Independents* favoured, most of the Supreme Officers being discarded, and entituled the *Reformadoes*, and left a begging their pay, and their Inferiour ones substituted in their places. Among the rest of these new blades, *Ireton* was raised to be Commissary General of the Horse, *Cromwel*'s second, who had newly married one of his Daughters, and was as near in brain to him as in blood.

This continuance of *Crom.* in his Command after all the other Members of Parliament were laid aside, at last upon the marching of the Army in the beginning of the year 1645. stiled him Lieut. General; a little before which he had doctrinated his Regiment in the new mode of Addresses to the Parliament, and to the General, setting forth their acquiescences and gladness in his frame and module of the Army, and that they were ready to lay down their lives in prosecution of the good Cause so far advanced. And this Arche-type was soon after followed by every Regiment and Garrison, whereunto none but the Creatures and Confidents of *Independency* were now admitted.

For from the first Head-quarters of this Army, *Cromwel* (having newly come out of the West, and tendered his Service to the General, if the Parliament should think fit, but intimating his sorrow that he fear'd he should not have the Honour to wait upon him (when at the very instant came down another Dispensation) was sent with a flying party of Horse

Horſe (by his party's prevalency in the Houſe for forty dayes longer) to intercept a Convoy of Horſe which was the Queens Regiment, the Earl of *Northampton*'s, and Colonel *Palmer*'s, with ſome other Troops coming to *Oxford*, to bring off the King with his Train of Artillery; who made ſuch haſt, that at *Iſlip* Bridge he ſurprized and routed them, took four hundred Horſe, and two hundred Priſoners, with the Queens Standard, and continuing his good ſpeed, having got intelligence of a party of a three hundred and fifty Foot under Sir *William Vaughan*, who were marching toward *Ratcod-Bridge*, he purſued them, and took the ſaid Sir *William*, Lieutenant Colonel *Littleton*, and two hundred more Priſoners, and immediately ſummoned *Blechingdon Houſe* not far diſtant from the place, whither ſome Ladies were newly come to give a viſit to Col. *Windebank*'s (the Governour's) Bride, who being affrighted with the ſuddenneſs of the danger, never left importuning the unfortunate Gentleman till he rendred the Garriſon; though *Cromwel*, for want of Foot, could never have forced him out, making uſe of this Stratagem by raiſing a Cry of, *Fall on Foot, fall on*: for this ſurrender, upon his coming to *Oxford*, by Sentence of a Council of War he was ſhot to death, leaving his Widow to blaſt with her ſighs and tears, *Cromwel*'s Laurels, who with this envious Triumph returned to his General. And this firſt happy Exploit, done by him in the beginning of the Expedition, was taken and publiſhed for a good Omen of his future Service; and therefore the Prudence of the Parliament was much commended in continuing him in Command, who was ſo hopeful an Inſtrument of carrying on the remaining work through ſo many difficulties, which had ſo long, and yet ſeemed ſo inſuperably to impede it. Thus did his

Faction

Faction and Partisans prepare and sublime him to his succeeding Enterprises and designs after the expiration of the War.

To enhance this reputation, and to secure his continuance in the Army, he next resolved upon a gallanter, and more hazardous Attempt, the reducing of *Faringdon* House, which had been an impregnable and most advantagious Garrison for the King; the Governour, was Sir *George Lysle*, a person of an invincible Spirit, and eminent throughout the War; To the better effect of this Design, he borrowed 600 foot of M. G. *Brown* from *Abingdon*, and with them fell presently to storming, but was notably repulsed, losing 50. men, without any success at all; and before he could get off was attaqued by a party of General *Goring*'s Horse, commanded by himself, then newly come out of the West from *Taunton* Siege, who, being as vigilant and valorous a Commander as himself, gave *Cromwel* the first brush he received in the War, taking three Colours, and Major *Bethel* prisoner, and so returned to his former Leagure at *Taunton*.

In the mean while General *Fairfax* by Order of the Committee of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, who ordered the Conduct of the War, was advancing into the West for the relief of the said Town of *Taunton*, and, because the King was yet at *Oxford* preparing to take the Field, *Cromwel* was left behind in the same parts, where now he quartered with Major General *Brown* to attend the Kings motion, and to impede his Conjunctures with the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, then coming with a Compleat Body of Horse out of *worcester-shire*; but his Majesty had equipped so gallant an Army, that *Cromwel* durst not venture to fight him, or retard his March any whither, so that *Fairfax* was presently recalled

recalled, and ordered to ſit down before *Oxford*, to reduce the King to the care of that place, and upon advantages to fight him: When News came that the King, having joyned with the Princes, and relieved *Cheſter* beſieged by Sir *Will. Brereton*, was now returning and bending his March towards the Aſſociate Counties, the heart and untouch'd ſtrength of the Parliament Cauſe, and therefore *Cromwel* was immediately diſpatch'd into the Iſle of *Ely*, with three Troops to ſecure that againſt any Invaſion, it being as the Bulwark or Fortreſs of the reſt. But the King diverting from that courſe, came and ſat down before *Leiceſter*, and after ſummons ſtormed and took it. Which put the Parliament into ſuch a fright, that they commanded *Fairfax* to riſe from *Oxford*, and preſently find out the King and fight him, who was now (as he himſelf writ to the Queen) in a better and more ſucceſsful condition than any time ſince the War. This Order *Fairfax* (having never ſent in a ſummons to the City, as fore-judging he ſhould riſe without it diſgracefully) readily obeyed, but withal requeſted them that they would forthwith diſpatch away *Cromwel* from the Iſle of *Ely*, to command the Horſe, extolling his Experience and Succeſs in that Service.

Accordingly *Cromwel* reinforced, and recruted with 600. Horſe, of the Aſſociation, returned to the Army then marching to *Northampton*: Where the General was informed that the King lay about *Daventry*, quartering his Foot and Carriages upon *Borough-Hill*, as if he intended to fight upon that ground if they ſhould advance. But he ſtayed till the 1200. Horſe, which he had ſent to carry the Cattle he had taken out of *Leiceſter* and *Northampton-ſhire*, for the ſupply of *Oxford*, were returned, intending thence according

cording to advice of his Councel of War, to march to the Relief of *Pomfret Caſtle* in the North, and to reduce thoſe parts loſt to him ever ſince *Marſton Moor*, and ſo to draw on *Fairfax* after him, and fight him at advantages: which he could not do in theſe counties, that were every where Garriſon'd by the Parliament forces.

But this Reſolution, the quicker Conſultation and Opinion of *Cromwel* ſoon diſappointed; for by his advice (now that their Army could expect no other Additions but Col. *Roßiter*, who was then alſo in a Dayes march of them, for Sir *John Gell* was joyned already) *Ireton* was preſently diſpatch'd with a Brigade of Horſe to obſerve the poſture of the Kings Army; and if they were upon their March Northwards, to skirmiſh them in the Rear, and keep them in Action till the whole body could come up & engage. *June* the 13*th*. *Fairfax* came to *Gilsborough*, within five miles of *Borough-hill*, whence the Cavaliers, the 1200. Horſe being returned, were marched Northwards: and the next night to the wonder and amazement of the King, *Ireton* gave an Alarum to His quarters at *Naſeby*, whence about 11. of the Clock the King diſlodged and haſtned to *Harborough*, where Prince *Rupert* and the Van of the Army was quartered, here a Councel of War was preſently convened, and by the Kings fatal Opinion concluded, that becauſe there was danger of bringing off the Rear of his Army, the Enemy preſſing ſo near and hard upon them, that therefore they ſhould deſiſt from their March further Northward, and immediately turn back upon the Enemy, and give him Battel, relying chiefly upon the valour of the Infantry, now fluſht and encouraged with the Plunder and Spoil of *Leiceſter*.

This was put in Execution (though the Major voices were for ſtaying till General *Goring* with his forces

forces were come up) and the Kings will obeyed. For very early in the morning the Scouts brought word, that the King was making all haste to the Engagement, being falsly informed that *Fairfax* in fear was retreating to *Northampton*, whereas he had now disposed of *Naseby* field, and awaited Him, having *Cromwel* with *Whalley* on his right wing, and *Ireton* on his left, the one opposed to my Lord *Langdale*, and the Northern Horse, & the other to Prince *Rupert* General of the Cavalry, the King himself being *Generalissimo*. To come to the event, Prince *Rupert* totally routed *Ireton*, who, being engaged and driven upon the Kings rightmost Foot, was there wounded in the Thigh with a Halbert, and taken Prisoner, and the Field on that hand cleared; which *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* observing, having not yet stirred from their ground, *Fairfax* with a short Speech encouraged the Troops to the Charge; which was seconded with some devout Ejaculations from *Cromwel*, who clapping Spurs to his Horse, fell in with *Langdale's* Brigade, and quite charged through three bodies and utterly broke them; nor did he stop till with his forces he had likewise beat that wing from their ground, without possibility of rallying or recovering it again. In this Action a Commander of the Kings knowing *Cromwel*, advanced smartly from the Head of his Troops to exchange a Bullet singly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountred by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their Pistols being discharged, the Cavalier with a slanting back-blow of a broad Sword, luckily cut the Ribbond that tyed his Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his his head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, his party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting, threw up his Head-piece into his Saddle, which *Oliver* hastily catching, as being

being affrighted with the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his head, and so fought with it the rest of the day, which proved most highly fortunate on his side, (though the King most magnanimously and expertly managed the fight, exposing himself to the eminentest perils of the Field) and raised him beyond the Arts and reach of Envy, or his Enemies of the *Presbyterian* party, who had so long been heaving at him, to out him of all Military employment, which concluding so pertinently and peremptorily for him in this grand Event, did charm the hatred malice and prejudice against him into fear and dread, what this arrogance of his fortune would finally aspire to.

This Battel wholly overthrew the King, who was never after able to make Head against the Parliaments forces, but piece-meal lost his Armies, Castles, and Towns; *Fairfax* taking in the remoter *Western* Garrisons, while *Cromwel* was employed nearer to *London*, being sure to have one eye to the Counsels of the Parliament, as well as the other intent against the King. Among the rest of those places taken by him, as *Winchester*, the *Devises* and *Langford-House*; *Basing-House*, that had defeated so many Sieges, and ruined so many Leagures, was not able to withstand the Fortune of this Victor, but humbled it self to dust and ruin at his first and terrible approach.

The War now almost expired, he began to ruminate on his former Dreams, and to adjust those strange revolutions and unexpected alterations of the Times and the Government to his former Fancy, in which he had so much affiance anew, that he became resolutely confirmed, that all those things were brought about meerly to fulfill that Oracle of his Imagination, *That he should be King*. And therefore he thought it a just reverence to his Fate, to neglect no advantages, occasions,

occasions, and means which might conduce to the accomplishment of its mystery, and conciliate its constant affection and favour to him. One thing primarily requisite, was the assistance of some confident Privado, and to this purpose he had before pitch'd upon Col. *Ireton*, a man of a most profound and deep dissimulation, and of a most clean conveyance of any mischievous design, one very well learned, but who had converted it (as Toads do the best nutriment unto the most exquisite poyson) to barbarous and most Horrid Artifices of Impiety and Treason; this man, *Cromwel* made sure to him, first to Marriage, as aforesaid, and now by a more mutual endearment, the partnership of the Soveraignty, which they agreed to seize: and from henceforth they never ceased plotting and conspiring, now colloguing with this party, then with that, and fomenting divisions still betwixt all, till with those many strange patches of Policy, *Cromwel* made himself a Protectoral Robe, with which he was not many years after solemnly vested.

In the mean time the King in *Oxford* fearing a Siege, and having no better shelter in *England* to secure himself, after he had in vain woed the Parliament from this his Court to a Treaty and Agreement, designed an escape out of their hands; and to that purpose (Colonel *Rainsborough* and other Forces at a distance lying about all the passes of the City) by Colonel *Ashburnham's* means procured a pass from the General for the said Colonel *Ashburnham* and his two Servants to travel from *Oxford*, upon some pretence of private business of the Colonels, and by vertue thereof in a Disguise of a Servant passed their Guards, and after many traverses delivered himself into the *Scotch* hands, then besieging *Newark*. Herein *Cromwel* most cunningly and deceitfully first practised

ed the Kings ruine: For whereas upon the rendition of that City, if the King had been taken in it, a ſudden end had been put to the Troubles by ſome compoſure, which would have marr'd *Cromwel's* Plots, not to be acted but by a Stratocracy and an Army; by this means of ſuffering Him to eſcape, which might eaſily have been prevented, the War was nonearer a concluſion than at the beginning, if the *Scots* as was hoped howſoever, would have proved honeſt, and kept their Allegiance and Faith due to ſuch extraordinary confidence and truſt repoſed in them.

Now to carry on their Treaſon the more irreſiſtibly and diſcoverably, upon a plauſible pretence of leſſening the charge of the Kingdom, they concluded to put their Partiſans in the Parliament (who gaped for the ſpoyl of the Kingdom, and would be content with that) to motion a Disbanding of ſome Regiments of the Army; which, being a juſt and neceſſary work, was aſſented to by many Patriots, who underſtood not the drift of the Conſpiracy. And accordingly Major General *Maſſey*, and Colonel *Cook* and their Brigades were ordered to disband, amounting to Two thouſand five Hundred Horſe: which Journey-work was put upon General *Fairfax*, who at the *Deviſes* performed it, giving them ſix Weeks pay for many Months Arrears. Divers of the Disbanded came from very remote Countries, and had Paſſes, ſome for *Meſopotamia*, ſome for *Egypt*, and *Æthiopia*, a ſanctified and pious Crew.

Major Gen. *Maſſey* was he whom they aimed at in this Diſmiſſion, as too much an *Eſſexian*, and of juſter and honeſter principles than their deſigns would allow, of a very great intereſt in the Army alſo, and very well eſteemed and beloved by them, as being of a clear ſpirit, and as valorous as the beſt of them, and would

would dare to oppose any rebellious practice whatsoever against the Authority of their Masters. Besides this *Cromwel* had a further reach to the future on the Parliament likewise, first to make a Division and beget and stir some ill humour in the Army, as if that were the leading case; next to make those Officers that should continue, when they should perceive at whose beck they must stand or fall, more fixedly dependent on him, and then to instil unto them his own traiterous designs and purposes: and so, having the Army entire at his devotion, effect and bring to pass all his Royal projections. *Massey* submitted, but carried the Revenges of this affront and Cabal with him to the Parliament-House. *Cromwel* upon the Kings rendring himself to the *Scots* at *Newark*, was at *Westminster*, and perceived by the toss and perplexity the Parliament was in about the Kings person, that it was a brave thing to be a Monarch, and therefore concluded it very necessary to other his Elements and Points of policy to get possession of His Majesty; and thereupon his party, the *Independent* Faction, being so instructed, fall violently upon the *Scots*, and would have run it up to little less than Treason for the *Scots* to detain the King. To this purpose divers Resolutions and Messages passed, but it appearing in the Conclusion that the *Scots* drove at a Bargain, *Cromwel* and his Faction most readily agreed to strike it, and so the King was delivered to the *English* Commissioners at *New-castle*.

Yet that nothing might slip or pass which any way promored his ambitious purposes, he made use of this agreement of the 200000*l.* to be paid the *Scots* by his Agents to mutiny the Army under Gen. *Poyntz*, another *Presbyterian* Commander then at *York*, upon their Guard against the said *Scots*, as if the Parliament

had no care or reſpect for them, but that Forreigners ſhould be paid with their money; and then afterwards upon the ceaſing that Tumult and Military Sedition, to get *Poyntz* diſmiſſed, as too remiſs and negligent in his Command. And not long after died the Earl of *Eſſex*, one whom *Oliver* more feared than any or all the *Presbyterian* Officers together, Death officiouſly removing this great impediment alſo; ſo that by this time there was not an Officer left in the Army, that did not acknowledg *Cromwel*'s Sultanſhip; the General himſelf being lulled and bewitched with the *Syren* Charms of his zealous inſinuations.

The *Presbyterian* Party in the Parliament began now to be ſenſible, whither theſe devices tended, and therefore, to Counterplot this Cabal of *Cromwel*'s, they reſolved upon a new disbanding of ſome (the *Scots* having friendly departed home) and tranſporting of other Regiments for the Service of *Ireland*, for that the neceſſity of that Kingdom did require the Tranſlation of the War thither: This the *Independent* preſently perceived, and gave *Cromwel* timely notice of, who knowing himſelf to be principally aimed at, cauſed it by ſome of his Familiars to be ſpread about the Souldiery, that the Parliament by the major Vote of ſome corrupt Members, had voted the disbanding of the Army, to cheat them of their Arrears, and to ſend them in a neceſſitous condition into *Ireland*, to be there knock'd on the head by the Rebells. This preſently put the Common Souldiers into ſuch a rage, who always judge by the firſt appearance, that they flew out into moſt opprobrious and reviling Language againſt the Parliament; but Fury being no preſent remedy to this evil, *Ireton* and his inſtructed Pupils preſcribe a Module (never heard of, or practiſed in War before) of a Military Common-Council, who ſhould aſſemble

two

two Commiſſion Officers, and two private Souldiers out of every Regiment, to Conſult for the good of the Army, to draw up their grievances, and preſent them to the General, and he to the Parliament; theſe to be called by the Name of Adjutators.

Having thus made ſure of the Army, he thought it time now to make ſure of the King, whom the Parliaments Commiſſioners had brought to his Captivity at *Holmby-Houſe*, and therefore *Ireton* and he having ſometime before acquainted themſelves with the King in this his reſtraint, and vowed and proteſted their readineſs to ſerve him, to the enſnaring the Kings belief, while they condoled the hard and unreaſonable carriage of the Parliament towards him, eſpecially in point of Liberty of Conſcience, and the Worſhip of God ( His Majeſties Chaplains having been obſtinately refuſed him ) they judged it no difficult thing to get his Perſon into their cuſtody and deceive his good nature, with the ſame ſemblances of it in themſelves, only the manner was not preſently reſolved by them. For without the Generals conſent and Command it could not be done in his name; nor might it avowedly be done by the Council of War: for it would be a peremptory and hazardous enterpriſe, and engage the whole Kingdom about their Ears. But at laſt it was concluded betwixt them that this Surprizal of the King ſhould be fathered on the Council of Adjutators, as the ſenſe and Act of the Army. Thus in all theſe puſhes and puzzles of accidents did they extricate themſelves by that Mungril Conſiſtory, a meer *Chimera* or *Brainſick Idea* of a Convention which was converſant only about ſhadows and umbrages of things, while *Cromwel* ran away with the ſubſtance.

This way being agreed upon, one Cornet *Joyce* a

busie pragmatical person, whom *Cromwel* his Familiar had tutored in the Method of Boldness and Rebellion, was privately conferred with about it, and after some familiar compellations hugged into the Conspiracy, and immediately dispatched away with a party of 1000 Horse on the 4. of *June*, to *Holmby*: where he arrived late at Night, but being very importunate to speak with the King, was by his order admitted, to whom he declared his Errand; and being demanded by whose Authority, whether by the General, or Council of War? No other answer could be drawn from him, but that it was from the Army, adding that if the *King* should refuse to go along with him, he must carry him away *per* force.

The *King* nevertheless deliberated the whole night, and consulted with the Parliaments Commissioners, what was most adviseable for him to do, though the sway of his Judgment invited him to the Armis Custody (from a just Resentment of the sullenness & Rebellious obstinacy of the Parliament) who had by *Joyce* offered him (as the last and chief Artifice of *Cromwel* to all sorts of ranks and persons) the liberty of Conscience, with other specious and dutiful pretences.

From *Holmby* therefore next Morning the *King* was carried to *Childersly*; then the Head-quarters of the *Army*, though the *King* desired to go to *Newmarket* his own house, as perswading himself in some greater degree of Royalty, than in the Parliaments Tuition; but this was at first denied & a complementary amends made him by the General, and more particularly by *Cromwel*, that His Majesty could no where be safer, or more regally honoured than in their Quarters, which were the only Sanctuary of his Person.

This daring presumption of seizing the *King* gave *light* to the World what this *Oliver* would at last appear,

appear, though no certain Concluſions could be made, what the miſchief did preſently ſignifie: It was ſufficient to *Cromwel's* deſign to amuſe the world, and let them *gueſs* at the danger he had *readily* prepared beyond any *ſudden remedy*. And therefore he now perſonates the Kings Intereſt, profeſſeth himſelf exceeding ſorry to have miſtaken the quarrel, intimates and inſinuates to the King, that there were a corrupt party (meaning the *Presbyterians*) in Parliament, who alone withſtood his Reſolution, and that he and all the power and friends he could make, were reſolved to aſſert his Rights, and vindicate them from thoſe unreaſonable injuries of the *Junto*, as he ſpared not frequently to own the ſame honeſty to the Kings friends, then admitted to attend him; particularly he declared to Colonel *John Cromwel* (a Commander in the *States* Service in *Holland*,) then in *England*, *That he thought the King of* England *was the moſt injured Prince in the World*; and clapping his hand to his Sword in ſome paſſion ſaid, Couſin *This ſhall right him*: to the very great contentment of the Loyal Subject, whom we ſhall have further occaſion in this Diſcourſe, and from this paſſage to mention.

In the mean while the King is at his earneſt deſire (which *Cromwel* ſeemed moſt officiouſly to ſtudy) conveighed to *New-market* Houſe, and thither his friends and Chaplains without any reſtriction admitted, and ſuch a ſudden change made in the condition of the King, as to his Liberty and Honour, that moſt of his party were *dazled* with the *ſhews* of it, and could not *foreſee* the Treaſon that was hid under thoſe fair *Vizards*: Nor could the King himſelf (ſo cunningly *Cromwel* carried it) give any true Judgment of this his Surprizal, more than that the Examples and rules of all policy generally reſolved him, *That the*

*Person of a Prince, in whose hands it remaineth, addeth Srength and Authority to that Party.*

The King being thus in *Oliver*'s hands, as he had declared (upon *Joyce*'s telling him, that he had the King in Custody) that he had the Parliament then in his Pocket; so his next main Work was to perform his word; and to this intent he never ceased exasperating the King against the *Presbyterian* Members in Parliament, thereby indispoſing the King to any accommodation with them, though the Terms or Propositions sent His Majesty were so unreasonable that they needed no disswasion to his Assent; but this *Ambodexter* so invisibly managed both the injustice of the *Junctο*, and the indignation and resentment of the King, that he was looked upon no otherwise then but at most as a *kind Spectator* and *Well-wisher* to the Kings Fortunes.

Nay so far had he proceeded in this Dissimulation and Treachery (the more detestable, by how much the simple confidence of so innocent a Prince was abused and deceived) that he stuck not sundry times voluntarily and of his own accord to assure the King, that if the Parliament failed in their duty, and did not speedily restore him, and settle the Kingdom, the Army should do it without them, and that to that very purpose the newly constituted Council or Court of Adjutators were now proceeding, and that speedily his Majesty should see the effect of his Faithfulness and Allegiance, while he the more indiscernibly sought, and most nefariously practised his Ruine.

The *Presbyterians* in Parliament, were hastily alarum'd at these Transactions of *Cromwel*; and therefore (the Army having assumed to themselves by decree of this their Court of Adjutators, a right of Petitioning as *English* Freemen, as being no mercenary Souldiers)

resolved

resolved as was partly hinted before, to divide the Army and send part of it to *Ireland*, and forthwith to Cashiere *Cromwel* and his Chief Partizans, and to run parallel with his designs, to send Propositions to the King, at the same time as the Army had hammered out some proposals of more equal, and of fairer pretences than theirs, so that the King acknowledged the juster dealing of the Army: with which satisfaction of the King, *Cromwel* seemed very much delighted, assuring His Majesty that more than that now proposed (which yet plainly asserted the Regal and Monarchical right) should in time be brought about, and that he might be confident in him as his most Dutiful and Faithful Subject.

Thus practised he with the King by Delusion and Treachery, but against the Parliament he proceeded in a more forcible way: for his party therein had tryed all ways to over-reach the *Presbyterian* with fineness and Artifice, but found them so vigilant and sensible of their proceedings, and being also far the Major part of the House, that no issue was to be expected from debates and disputes with them. For a Declaration was now published, forbidding the Souldiers to Petition the Parliament, as being under their pay and command, and for disobedience hereunto, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Mr. now L. *Hollis* had drawn their Swords upon one Major *Tuleday*, and committed another, one *Nicholas Tew* to *Newgate*, in the month of *May*, and a private resolution had been taken to secure *Cromwel* then in Town, and not suffer him to return to the Army now full of Rebellious Mutiny against them; which might have put an end to this grand Conspiracy, and the mischiefs ensuing: But *Oliver* having sudden intimation of the design, got secretly and hastily out of Town, and upon a *Flea*-

bitten Nag without ſtop or ſtay arrived at the Rendezvouz at *Triple-Heath*, *June* 5. his Horſe all in a foam, and there was welcomed with the Shouts of the whole Army, to whom he declared the Actions and Deſigns of the Parliament.

And here was made that pernicious and deſtructive engagement of perpetuating the Army till their deſires; that is, till *Cromwel's* devices ſhould be attained: and this for the better Security he cauſed to be confirmed at another more general Rendezvouz, *June* the 14th, at *New-market*; where He himſelf was the firſt man alighting from his Horſe at the head of his Regiment and lying upon his Belly that ſubſcribed it, which was in ſeveral Parchment Rolls univerſally followed. I muſt not omit one further remarque, on this occaſion, one *Edward*, afterwards better known by the name of Colonel *Sexby*, and *Lazingby*, both of the Council of Adjutators, were ordered by the ſaid Council to attend the Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, then quartering near *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, with a draught of Engagement, every word whereof was privily dictated by himſelf and *Ireton*; yet at the Receipt hereof, *Cromwel* very angerly riſing up in his Bed, demanded, *How they durſt preſume to give him any Papers?* they replyed, *It was the ſenſe of the Army, and that they were commanded to deliver it. Be you well aſſured of that*, ſaith he in the ſame rage; and preſently thereupon read it, and inſtantly changing his countenance to a mild and devout Aſpect, ſaid, *It is a moſt juſt thing, God proſper it, I will ſtand by the Army with it to the utmoſt of my life and Fortunes*; and ſo, after many familiar Careſſes diſmiſſed them; it being his conſtant cuſtom afterwards during this Intrigue, to take the the meaneſt Souldier by the hand, clap him on the ſhouldier, or box him lightly on the

the Ear, thereby to ingratiate himself into their favour: and it accordingly succeeded in this bold attempt and enterprize upon the Parliament.

For immediately hereupon an Impeachment is drawn up and presented to, and approved by, this Council of Adjutators against a 11. Membess of the House of Commons, the chief of the *Presbyterian* party, who had threatned and acted opposition to his Designs, *viz.* Sir *William Waller*, Col. *Massey*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Col. *Long*, Mr. *Anthony Nicholas*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Mr. *Glyn*, Sir *John Maynard*, Sir *Will. Lewis*, and Col. *Ed. Harley*; the main of which charge was, that they had been the Obstructers and Prejudicers of several Petitions to the Parliament for redress of publick grievances, retarded the settlement of the Kingdom, and had shared the Revenue thereof among themselves, and last of all had underhand complyed with the King —— Imputations of all sorts to make something stick, and to catch one parties or others belief of their criminal Suggestions.

This was accordingly with impudence enough presented to the House of Commons by Colonel *Scroop*, *Okey*, *Hewson*, and *Pride*, Lieut. Col. *Goffe*, Major *Disborough*, *Berry*, *Clark*, *Carter*, *Rolph*, and *Sexby*; to which Charge a Paper was added, wherein they set forth, that, in pursuance of those Representatives, they had the Heads of the charge ready, and will appoint fit persons on their and the Kingdoms behalf to make it good: They demanded Money likewise and Arrears, and to be paid equally, with such who, being cajoled by the eleven Members, had engaged for *Ireland*, which forces they require to be stopt from returning toward *London*, for fear of a design. And though the Parliament had expresly declared against this unparalleld violence, yet straight

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wayes the Army advanced neerer to *London*, resolving not to desist their March till they were superseded the House; which affront was most abjectly suffered by the Parliament, and the said Members after some frivolous debates, suspended sitting till they had cleared themselves: and now *Cromwel* (having thus awed the Parliament, and abused the King) was come to a fair prospect of his aspired greatness, making good that presagious saying of his upon the seizing of the King by *Joyce*: there remained now nothing to hinder the facilitating of the residue of his Plot but the City of *London*: and we shall see him cajole and baffle them worse and more insolently than the Parliament.

But before we mention that, we must return to the King, now traversing the Country with his Army, and shewed to the people in great state, and received and welcomed every where by them with all demonstrations of joyful Allegiance, and in like manner yet complemented by *Cromwel*: Thus he progressed from *New-Market* to *Royston*, thence by St. *Albans* to *Hatfield*, to *Windsor* (being carried towards *London* almost in the same Road, in which he was driven thence) to *Caversham*, back again to *Maidenhead*, to *Latimer*, *Stoke*, *Oatlands*, *Sion-House*, almost in view and hearing of those Tumults which forced him away; while in the interim, *Oliver* having made a Pique against the Citizens, and revenged one Tumult by another, had made the City submit, and receive the Domineering Army in Triumph through their Streets, with Lawrel and other Ensigns of Victory in their Hats.

With the Army returned those Fugitive Members that left the Parliament upon the same Tumults being invited by *Cromwel* to his Sanctuary of Red-Coats, while the remaining Members had voted the

Kings

King's presence to *London*, to treat personally with his two Houses; all which Votes being Tumultuously obtained (by instinct of some of *Cromwel's* own sending to increase the violence) were afterwards vacated after a long strugling in the Parliament as contrary to Priviledge; and the secluded Members, who had resumed their seats, deserted *London*, and went some over Sea, others with passes to their own homes in the Country, resigning their ill employed power to *Cromwel*, and his Faction in the Parliament; who abused it ten times more. *In Justification of this insolence they published a Declaration, wherein they said that the Parliament had declared that it is no resistance of Magistracy to side with just Principles, and the Law of Nature and Nations, being the same Law upon which they had assisted them, and that the Souldiers may lawfully hold the hands of the General who will turn his Cannon upon the Army on purpose to destroy them; The Seamen the hands of the Pilot who wilfully runs the Ship upon a Rock, as their Brethren the* Scotch-men *had also argued.*

*The said Declaration still directing them to the equitable sense of all Laws and Constitutions, as dispensing with the very Letter of the same, and being supreme to it, when the safety and preservation of all is concerned, and assured them; That all Authority is fundamentally seated in the Office, and but ministerially in the persons.*

But before this great success, the dubious Expectation thereof had caused *Cromwel* to stagger now and then at his first Resolutions, (which if prosperous would at all times help themselves, and there ultimately he was fixed, whatever conditions and promises cross accidents should extort from him)

him) and therefore he was dealing with the King in way of recompence and reward for his Service in his restitution, that he should be made Earl of *Essex*, and a Knight of the Garter, his eldest Son to be of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, his Son in Law *Ireton*, to be either Lord Deputy, or at least Field Marshal General of *Ireland*. And it was reported by *Henry Cromwel*, that then Commanded the Generals Lifeguard, that the King had put himself upon his Father and Brother *Ireton*, to make his terms for him, and restore him to his Crown: Which grant of the Kings caused and produced those Proposals before-mentioned to be contrived, but now in the very nick of this Juncture, set forth and published, called the proposals for the setling a just and lawful peace, wherein the three first and last particulars, the Authority was left as entire in the King as before the rest were some *Caprichio's* of Biennial Parliaments and the like Figaries, whose impertinencies discredited the important veracity of the other. But this feud, betwixt the *Presbyterians* and *Cromwel*, ending so fortunately for him, there being nothing at present to withstand his first and grand intendment, he began to wave his respects to the King, and cast of those disguises wherewith he had made himself acceptable to the Kings adherents, and laid aside the King and them.

The King therefore gently reminds *Cromwel* of his promises, repeats to him his Protestations, and urgeth the Proposals aforesaid (and not only so, but, in confidentence of the fair meaning of the Army, declines a speedier accommodation with the Parliament) but *Cromwel* begins to turn a deaf ear, to deny many things what he said and promised, to re-

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tract from others, pretending the difference of times and circumſtances, that they can not be performed; telling the King moreover, that he did miſtake and not rightly underſtand his meaning; and in ſhort, that though he would keep his word with his Majeſty, now it was not in his power, for that the Adjutators were grown to ſuch an ungoverned and inſolent licentiouſneſs, that until the Diſcipline of the Army could be recover'd, it were in vain to expect any ſuch thing as he, when he promiſed really intended.

The King was at this time at *Hampton-Court*, perplext on the one hand with the obſtinacy of the Parliament in their Propoſitions, being more rigid ſince the laſt garbling by the Army; and on the other with the dangerous poſitions of the Adjutators and the Levelling party both in Camp and City, in which laſt *John Lilburn* was Chief of the Faction, who decryed Monarchy and all former rights of Government, having ſomething (which *Ireton* ſpread by the by as it were among the Souldiery) in projection on purpoſe to ſtave off all manner and means of ſettlement. This at laſt came to a Syſtem or Conſiſtency, and was ſtyled an Agreement of the people, and was now the only darling of the Army and the Sectaries; being a mixture or miſcellany of politick Notions no way practicable among *Engliſh men*, being a deformation or deſtruction of all things, but an eſtabliſhment of nothing, a meer temporary expedient and ſhift of deſign, (except always their Arrears. Indemnity and the period to the Parliament) and this ſhape *Cromwel* aſſumes alſo, confeſſing and acknowledging the excellence, equity, add goodneſs of the ſame, the only fault in it was

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the unſeaſonableneſs; for as yet it was not his time and his Cue to appear ſo publiquely againſt the King, and this his character of it was dreſt out and enlarged with ſuch taking Saint-like Language, as the *Phanatick* rabble might beſt be ſurprized, and not ſuſpect any of his own venemous deſigns to be lurking under the leaf of his Holy and ſacred pretences. Withal when his Plot againſt the *King* was ripe for Execution, he cauſed a Faſt to be publiſhed in the Army, (a certain forerunner of miſchief with him) where he was as uſually obſerved to howl and cry, and bedew his Cheeks with the Tears of Hypocriſie, Cruelty, and Deceit; and after this Mock-duty performed, he and the reſt of the Officers pretended to confeſs their iniquity and abomination, in declining the Cauſe of the People, and tampering with the King, and then in the preſence of the All-ſeeing God, acknowlege the way of an Agreement of the people to be the way to Peace and Freedome.

The *King* was in the mean while, by the fallacious advice of *Whalley*, and the practices of *Cromwel*, (who had cauſed frequent rumors to be whiſpered, of ſome Aſſaſſinate intended by the *Levellers* againſt his perſon) frighted from *Hampton-Court*, which place was found to be too near to *London* for fear of a reſcue, in a dark and tempeſtuous night, in *November* 1647. an hour or two before which *Cromwel* then at *Hampton-Court*, caſt himſelf upon his knees, and often kiſſing the Kings Hand, ſaid, *So God bleſs me and mine as I endeavour yours, and your Childrens rights and diginities*; and turning to Mr. *Huntingdon* who from this paſſage could never afterwards endure *Cromwel*, but interrupted him) ſaid, *Tarry you with the King this night, and if any thing happen here, bring*

*bring me word*; who accordingly did so with some grief and amazement, to which *Cromwel* replyed with laughter, *that the King was where he desired, and that there wanted nothing now to his desires, but that his Children were there to bear him company, under the disloyal custody of* Col. *Hammond*, Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, and Brother to the most Learned and Reverend Dr. *Hammond*, which consideration, *Cromwel* forelaid, would invite the *King* in his distress to betake himself thither, where we shall leave him in a most disconsolate Imprisonment. The Votes of *Non-Addresses* being not long after procured by *Cromwel*'s Menaces to the Parliament, when upon the Debate of them he declared in such like words; *That it was now expected by the good People of the Nation and the Army, that the Parliament would come to some Resolution and Settlement, as the Price of all the Blood and Treasure that had been expended in the War; and that they would not now leave them to the expectation of any good from a Man, whose heart God had hardned; but if they did, they should be forced to look for their preservation some other way.*

At the end of this Speech he laid his hand upon his Sword by his side, as was the more observed, because formerly in the same place it could not keep him from trembling, when Sir *Philip Stapleton* a man of spirit and metal baffled him; but Sir *Philip* and his Seconds were now out of doors. Next to him spoke *Ireton*, in the very same sense (being newly chosen a recruit for the Parliament, by the illegal Writ of Election) extolling and magnifying the valour, civility, and duty of the Army, concluding with the same threats, that if the Parliament would not settle the *Kingdom* without the *King*, then they of necessity must and would.

So

So that after some Opposition, the said votes having passed against any further Address to be made to the King, *Oliver* thought himself cock-sure, and therefore the King, Parliament, and City, being in his power, he had no rub left to his Ambition, but those Imps and Spirits of his own raising and conjuring up the Adjutators and Levellers of the Army, who having con'd their Lesson of the Agreement with the people, were become most artful and skilful Governours, already boasting in the Countrey, (many of which silly people they had induced to their side upon the accompt of laying all in common, and in a wild Parity) that the Parliament sate only during their pleasure, and till a new Representative (then a forming) should take upon them the Government; nor did they more dutifully respect, and behave themselves to their Officers, whom they counted as pieces of the prerogative Military, and therefore decried all Courts and Council, of them, which now began to separate and act by themselves, without the mixture of these Adjutators.

This exorbitancy and height of the Soldiery was altogether as destructive to *Cromwel*, now he had done his work with them for this time, as any of the other three Interests: but desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures, for immediately the Head-quarters being then at *Ware*, Colonel *Eyr* a *Leveller* was seised and imprisoned, and one *Arnold* a private Souldier shot to death for promoting the former solemn Engagement, and Agreement of the people, and after that he cashiered all such who favoured the same: and to fan and cull out the rest, he proceeded to disband 20 out of a Troop, by which the most of that Party were totally excluded; the like

was

was done in *London* by the Impriſonement of Mr. *Prince*, and others of the ſame Faction.

Having thus for the preſent ſtill'd that commotion in the Army, the danger of a ſecond War ſeemed afreſh to threaten the *Junčto* and *Cromwel*, by reaſon their injurious Votes of *Non-Addreſſes*; and therefore to prevent ſo formidable a Conjunction of all Intereſts and Parties againſt him, he now by his Party and Emiſſaries propoſeth an accommodation between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and a way and means whereby they may be ſo united: at the motion of this in the Houſe of Commons, a Gentleman, replyed, *That if there were any ſuch perſons who had any private Intereſt different from the publick, and under the diſtinction of parties had prejudiced the Kingdom, he was not fit to be a Member of that Houſe*: Nevertheleſs, it was inſiſted on, that the Houſe would declare and ratifie their Votes of nulling and making void the Votes that paſſed in the abſence of the Speakers, that fled into the Army in 1647, and their Engagement of adhering to the Army, which were tacitly confeſſed to be then unduly procured; ſo fearful and doubtful was he again of the iſſue of thoſe new Troubles he foreſaw would fall out, and therefore would ſhelter himſelf and juſtify his Actions by the Authority he had ſo often baffled.

The ſame Artifices he uſed likewiſe to the City, offering them now upon the like condition of uniting Intereſts, the freedom of their Lord Mayor and Aldermen, *viz.* Sir *John Gayr*, Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Adams*, and others, and the ſetting up again their Poſts and Chains: but when they (having already treated and engaged with the *Scots*, then in preparation for a March into *England*) refuſed to

give ear to any Propoſitions or terms, reſenting the baſe affronts he and the Army had put upon them, He queſtioned his Agent *Glover*, who gave him Commiſſion to make any ſuch Overtures? and in great rage turned him out of his Service.

About the ſame time to be in preparation and readineſs againſt any City tumultuary onſlaught or deliberate Maſſacre, he had ſeveral Magazines furniſhed in private Houſes in *London*, to Arm his Phanatick partakers, one of which being found out was out-noiſed by him to be the ſtore of the Malignant and *Presbyterian* Party, and the Arms accordingly ſecured and cloſely delivered into his hands again; which was conſonant to his former Cheats, when upon the disband of the Supernumeraries, their Arms were delivered to his diſpoſal, and others more addicted to his Party Liſted and Armed with them in other Regiments, ſo that the charge to the publick was ſtill the ſame.

The danger ſtill increaſing, he ſuffered the Lords as namely the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, Lord *Maynard*, *Willoughby*, &c. whom he had impeached of High Treaſon after his March into *London*, to be freed from their Impriſonment in the *Tower*, and with them the Major and Aldermen aforeſaid. And as a further ſatisfaction and ſubmiſſion to the Authority of the Parliament, A Declaration of the Army is publiſhed, wherein *they bewail their former miſcarriages and miſdemeanors towards the Parliament, their medling with the Civil power, and that force and violence they had offered to the two Houſes, and in concluſion promiſe faithfully and dutifully to acquieſce in their reſolutions and Wiſdom.* With this *Hocus Pocus* deluding the *Presbyterian* party into a kind of ſtu-

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pid neutrality or rather worſe, while yet they would by no means comply with the King, until *Polyphemus* Courteſie appeared in this *Cromwelian* Craft.

The *Scots* under Duke *Hamilton*; having entered *England*, and divers Inſurrections happening in *England* and *Wales*, according as was expected, *Cromwel* was ordered by the Parliament to attend the firſt of them, which was the *Welſh* and *Northern* Armies (though the *Scots* delayed their March ſo long till all was neer loſt in *England*) and after a ſhort Siege, upon the Defeat at St. *Fagons*, which was atchieved in his abſence, took in *Tenby-Caſtle*; *Pembroke-Caſtle* held out againſt him a while longer, but, his haſt indulging them good terms, was yielded; thence he marched for *Lancaſhire*, having joyn'd with Major General *Lambert*, who attended the motion of the *Scotch* Army; and at *Preſton*, his forces amounting to few more than 9000 Men, whereas the *Scots* were no leſs than 20000, gave Duke *Hamilton* Battle, and after a very ſhort diſpute, wherein the *Engliſh* Force under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made him the greateſt Oppoſition, totally routed the *Scotch* Army, taking all their Artillery, Big and Baggage and ſome 9000 priſoners, with the Duke himſelf in that purſuit Southwards; while he followed the main of the flying Army Northwards, with a reſolution of putting a final end to that buſineſs, and to rid himſelf of the Fears which from thence had hitherto perplexed him. Upon this his haſty advance, Major General *Monro* who commanded the reſerve of 6000 Men to the former Army, and was marching after them, immediately returned to *Berwick*, and ſo back into *Scotland*; *Berwick* upon *Cromwel's* approach rendred it ſelf upon terms, and hindered not his ad-

vance to *Edinburgh*, where by the Committee of Estates he was very sumptuously welcomed.

*Monro* as yet and the Earl of *Lanerick* with him stood to their Arms upon the *Hamilton* account in the *West* of *Scotland*, and the Marquiss of *Argaile*, with another party stood for the purer Kirk, which since the Dukes march had recovered its Magistracy and Superiority, and with *Cromwel's* accessional Troops could give Law to the Kingdom; but because *Cromwel* was loth to venture a new War there, so far distant from his main design which the Army successes at home had now matured, and his presence only wanting to accomplish it, he so ordered the matter that a Treaty was procured, by which all parties were to lay down there Arms (a greater assurance to him than if the Kirk had been absolute victor) the *Hamiltonians* to have indemnity, but none of them to be admitted or elected for the next Parliament, or Assembly General, so that he so absolutely manacled that Nation, that they had no other use of their hands then to hold them up to heaven at the doleful murther of their natural Prince, whom by their primitive rebellion they had brought to the Block.

Things thus settled in *Scotland*, he departed thence, having been most highly and magnificently treated by the Grandees of that Kingdom before and at his departure, and complemented by the Kirk as their deliverer, which he regested in as good Scriptural Language, laying his hand on his breast and demurely looking on their *Scotch* screwed faces, and laughing to himself what Idiots he had made of those Politicians at their own sanctified Weapons.

In his way homeward he visited the Siege of *Pomfret*, and was by the Commander in Chief against that

that place importuned to ſee it reduced, but ſtaid only to the gaining of the Town (it being believed that his fortune or experience maſtered all things) as he was afterwards at *Scarborough*, which being upon the point of Surrender, he diſpenſed for the Honour thereof to ſtay at that Leagure and have it delivered into his hands; and ſo poſted for the head-Quarters of the Army then at St. *Albans*, having ſubdued all the Oppoſition made this Summer 1648, where he was welcomed with the higheſt gratulations of his late atchievement, eſpecially by the Officers, for as yet the Souldiers knew not what to think of him as to their new Agreement of the People, which was now began again and favoured already by *Ireton* ſo much, as that he had it under conſideration, and promiſed to return it with ſome additions and amendments of his own.

And that proved that accurſed Remonſtrance of the Army, in which all the former freaks of policy were inſerted to make up the number, but the burden thereof was the Treaſonable contrivance of the Kings Death, and the altering the Government; for firſt they remonſtrated to the Parliament, That all perſons of whatſoever quality or condition, not excepting the King, that had been guilty of the blood ſpilt in the late War, ſhould be brought to juſtice and condigne puniſhment; Next, That a day ſhould be ſet for the ſummoning the Prince and the Duke of *York*, to appear and clear themſelves of ſuch things as ſhould be laid to their charge, and if they did not then to be declared incapable of ſucceeding in the Government. Many ſuch there were of the like Batch, but all of them concluded with a moſt favourable Aſpect to the Royal party, whoſe fines and compoſitions they

pretended to have mitigated, and many more good Morrows, on purpose to amuse even them too, as they had deceived and out witted the *Presbyterian*, This pestilence Paper *Cromwel* got delivered to the House of Commons by a select number of Officers, just as they had almost concluded with the King by a Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, to the amazement and fright of all good Christians and Subjects.

And here *Cromwel* terminated and centred all the crooked lines of his most impious Ambition, resolving to stand or fall by this Conclusion; and therefore immediately, (the Army being then advanced to *London*, to prosecute this Remonstrance) as he had dispatched Col. *Ewer* to take the King out of the Custody of *Hammond*, and carry him over to *Hurst-Castle*, a most unhealthful place, so did he upon notice that the Parliament had voted the Kings Concession a ground for a Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, command Coll. *Pride*, a fellow who had not wit enough to consider his business, to seize upon the avenues and passages to the Parliament House, and exclude above 140. Members, whose names were given him in a Roll: which unheard of and unparallel'd Violation, was back'd and secured by Force of Horse and Foot, quartering up and down the City and Suburbs, another lawless and forcible Intrusion upon their Charter.

The House being thus purged, as they called it, and others, besides those that were forcibly secluded, absenting themselves for fear of being engaged and overpowred in those wicked Counsels which this Action portended, the remaining *Juncto* of his Culling, a great part whereof were Army Officers, not amounting in all to 60, passed an Ordinance for Tryal of the King

King; the manner whereof by a high Court of Justice of his and *Ireton's* own forming and Conception was fully agreed upon, and the King brought from the said *Hurst-Castle*, by *Wincheſter*, *Farnham* and *Windſor*, to Sr. *James's*, in order thereunto.

But of this lamentable Tragedy ſo much hath already been ſaid, that I will not add this ſupernumerary to load him here; though it were his principal Guilt, and to which all his other perpetrations were but intendency: ſuch miniſterial ſubſervient practices as *hoc excepto*, the event not reckoned, might favorably paſs for genuine and right policy, influenced and managed by the concurrent Fate of things, and the elevated Subtleties, and undiſputable Strengths of a happy Brain, and more proſperous Sword. I will only inſtance two particulars, relating to this ſad and fatal buſineſs, which diſcover the Abyſs of this mans Villany.

There was mention made before of Coll. *John Cromwel*; This Gentleman, upon the news the States of *Holland* had received of this proceeding againſt the King, at the inſtance of Our Soveraign, then Prince of *Wales* reſiding at the *Hague*, to them, to mediate and interpoſe in the buſineſs, was pitch'd upon by them as the only fit perſon, becauſe of his relation to *Cromwel*, (who was looked upon there as the only Contriver of this miſchief) to be employed in a meſſage to him, with Credential Letters from the States; whereunto was added a blank with the Kings Signet, and another of the Princes, both confirmed by the States, for *Cromwel* to write his own conditions in, if he would now preſerve the life of the K.

The Col. putting ſome confidence in what *Oliver* had formerly told him, willingly undertook the

Errand, and forthwith repaired to *London*, (just before the Kings Martyrdom,) and found him out at his house, but so recluse and lock'd up in his Chamber with an Order that none should know he was within, that he could not be admitted till he had told his name. After mutual Salutations the Colonel desired a word or two in private, which being granted, he began roundly to tell him of the flagitiousness of the Fact, now almost ready to be committed, and how detestable it sounded abroad, adding *that of all men living he never should have imagined that he would have hid a hand in it, having protested so much for the King in his hearing.* Whereupon *Cromwel* fell to his old shifts, telling him it was not he, but the Army, that 'twas true once he did say such words, but times were altered, and providence seemed to dispose things otherwise; that he had prayed and fasted for the King, but no return that way was yet made to him; whereupon the Coll. stepping back clapt the Door to, (to the agasting of *Cromwel* who suspected an assassinate) and coming close to him, *Cousin* said he, *it is no time to dally with words in this matter, look you here said he* (pulling out the aboveſaid Papers out of his Pocket) *'tis in your own power not only to make your self but your Posterity, Family, and Relations happy, and honourable for ever, otherwise as they have changed their names before from* Williams *to* Cromwel, *so now they must be forced to change it again; for this Fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to wipe away.*

*Cromwel* here pausèd, and seemed to ponder with himself, and after a little space said, *Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you*

*go to your Inn, but go not to Bed till you hear from me, I will confer and consider further about the busines.* The Colonel did so, and about one of the Clock (within an Evening or two of the Murther) a Messenger came to him and told him he might go to bed, and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince; for the Council of Officers had been seeking God as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all that the King must die.

The other is of the same piece with the former (not to mention his threatning of Coll. *Downs* into an acquiescence with other the Regicides, upon the adjournment of the High Court of Justice, at the Kings request into the Painted Chamber; nor his like usage of Coll. *Ingolsby*, and holding his hands while he signed that horrid Sentence, and many other particulars of the same Crime) and perfectly discovers how much an Atheist or Mocker of God he was in his pretended Piety and Devotion.

The very same day appointed for this Murther, *Cromwel* and the Officers assembled together, to consider of some means if possible (with security still to the Nation) of saving the Kings Life; and many tedious expedients were offered by some not so bloody as the rest, and a speedy Remonstrance to the Parliament proposed, and in the mean while the King should be Respited. *Cromwell* likewise seemed very forward, expressing how glad he should be if such a thing might be effected; for he was not ignorant, he said, what calumny that Action would draw upon the Army and themselves in particular, though they did nothing therein but in obedience to the Parliament. But before we (said he) proceed in so weighty a matter, let us seek God to know his mind in it; hereunto

they

they agreed, and *Oliver* began a long-winded Prayer and continued in it till a Messenger, whom he had appointed for that purpose, came rapping at the door, and hastily told them that they need not trouble themselves about the King, for the work was done: which, being unexpected to many of them, did at present astonish them, while *Cromwel* holding up his hands declared to them, that it was not the pleasure of God he should live, and therefore he feared they had done ill to tempt him against his will; or words to that effect.

When the Kings body was removed and coffined, *Cromwel*, to satisfie himself of the full and certain consummation of all his practices against his sacred life, would needs see himself, and upon his return thence he was heard to say, *That if he had not been a King he might have lived longer.*

Other passages there were, which concern this doleful subject, both preceeding and succeeding it; as namely *Oliver's* Conferences with *Hugh Peters* at *ware*, his feigned Letters out of the *North* to applaud this Fact, and extolling the Justice and Courage of the Army, by whose means it was that the great Cedar of the Forest was fallen, without any noise, and now the time was coming when we should rejoyce under our own Vines and Figtrees —*whence this Criminal had his leaves, and we blood instead of wine.* But of this more than enough.

With much craft and cunning did he now hide his daring ambition: for though it was thought as feasible for him now to have seized the Crown as afterwards, considering that his Usurpation was to be maintained by Arms; yet he, well knowing what a Faction there was in the Army of the *Levelling* principle,

ple, ventured not to put his oracular Title to a present Tryal, but await more promising opportunities.

In the mean while to quarrel these *Levellers*, and confine the Democratical Regiment or a Free State (so it was now called) to a narrow compass, and to assume the greatest part of the Government to himself, especially the executive power thereof, according as *Ireton* had projected the module soon after *Newmarket-Heath* engagement; a Council of State like the 30. Tyrants of *Athens* was established, which consisted principally of his Creatures, and these were but forerunners of his single Tyranny, like rayes by a burning Glass contracted into one Beam; The word being now given out amongst the Officers of the Army, *That this Nation must have one prime Magistrate or Ruler over them, and that the General hath power to make a Law to bind all the Commons of* England.

These tendencies to Slavery first of all enraged the *Levellers*, who, having promised to themselves a good share of the spoil of the Kingdom, found they were meerly deluded, and that all the engagements and agreement, were but so many *Rattles* by which the Army was drawn on to act *Cromwel's* designs; who had on purpose contrived that Council of Adjutators, to engage the mass of the Souldiery in the danger of his Treasonable conspiracy; that knowing themselves in the same predicament with him, they must resolve to stand by him like a wily Fox, who being pursued, will herd himself among the Sheep, and so avoid the dogs: but all those hazards and necessities being pass'd, the Council of Adjutators was abolished, the Officers now abominating to suffer the Souldiers to sit Cheek by Jole with them any longer, the Expedition

for

for *Ireland* absolutely concluded on, without satisfaction of Arrears, the Engagement slighted, and the right of Petitioning, which the Army claimed as Freemen, denyed by their Officers, who put them upon impeaching the 11 Members for that very reason; and because a neer total Defection of the Army followed upon this soon after, the Engine which *Cromwel* had used to subvert the Government, being likely to prove his own Ruine,

——(*Nec Lex est justior ulla*
*Quàm necis artifices arte perire sua,*)

though the Fates and his Treachery narrowly prevented it; it will be requisite to shew you the sense of the Army, upon the present State of the Usurpation in this following Petition.

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*To his Excellency* Thomas *Lord* Fairfax, *and his Council of Offi*[illegible]

May it please your Excellency and your Council of Officers.

WE *have lately made our humble Address unto the Peoples Representators in Parliament, concerning some relief to our selves and the Common-wealth, by way of Petition, the meanest and lowest degree of an* Englishman's *Freedom that we know of; and yet the same (to our astonishment) hath much distasted and imbittered divers of our Superior Officers (in this Council convening) against us, as we perceive, and that even unto death.*

*We therefore being willing to avoid all occasion of offence and division, and to clear our selves of all imputations thereof, that in Justice and reason may be*

convin-

convinced against us, desire, that you would be pleased to consider, that we are English Souldiers, engaged for the Freedoms of England; and not Outlandish Mercenaries, to butcher the People for Pay, and serve the pernicious ends of ambition and will in any person under Heaven. That we do not imagine our selves absolved from the solemn Engagement at New-market-Heath, but to be still obliged before God and the whole World to pursue the just ends thereof; and you may remember the many Promises and Declarations to the People upon that account, which like the Blood of Abel cryes for Justice upon the perfidious infringers and perverters thereof in this Army. You may further remember that it hath been a Principle by you asserted and avowed; that our being Souldiers hath not depriued us of our Right as Commoners; and to Petition the People in Parliament, we do account in the number of our Birthrights; and you may remember that in the time of the Domination of the eleven Members, you complained against their then endeavour to suppress the Liberty of the Souldiers to Petition, as an insufferable infringment of the right of the Army and People: and we hope you did not then condemn it in them, to justifie it in your selves: when the Power was theirs, it was then condemned; but now it is yours, how comes it to be justified? In the Point of Petitioning we expected your Encouragement, and not to have manacles and fetters laid upon it; It is not the bare name or shadow thereof will satisfie us, while we are gulled of the essence of it. It is a perfect freedom which we desire, not therein to be subjected under Gradual Negative Voyces of a Captain, a Colonel, your Excellency, or your Council: to pass the Test from one Negative voyce to another for its approvement, we account as

the

*the most vexatious Labyrinth of thraldom that in this point can be devised, worse than all oppositions and infringements of the* 11. *Members*; *we had rather that in plain terms you would deny us our right of Petitioning, and pronounce and proclaim us absolute Slaves and Vassals to our Officers, than secretly to rob us of the right it self. God hath in some measure opened our eyes, that we can see and perceive*; *and we desire plain dealing, and not to be met half way with smooth expedients, and Mediums facing both waies, with specious and fair pretences, to overtake our suddain apprehensions, and unawares steal upon us, and so be defeated, as too often we have been, to the woe and misery of the People, and of us*: *but* The Burnt Child dreads the Fire.

*Further we desire you to consider, That the strength, the honour and being of the Officer, yea and of this Council (under God) doth consist in the arm of the Souldier. Is it not the Souldier that endureth the heat and burthen of the day, and performeth that work whereof the Officer beareth the glory and name? For what is it the Officer can do without the Souldier? If nothing, why are they ashamed to deny us our right to Petition.*

*We have long waited in silence, even while we perceived any hopes of any real redress from them. But now finding the Military power in an absolute usurpation of the Civil Jurisdiction, and in the place of the Magistrate executing that Authority, by which the Sword of War is incroached into the self same hands under one Military head, we disclaim and abhor it, as not having any hand or assent therein at all. And we find a strange and unexpected constitution of a Council of State, such as neither we nor our forefa-*

*thers,*

thers were ever acquainted with, intrusted with little less than an unlimitted power, and with the whole force both of Sea and Land, in which are combined the most pernicious interests of all Tyrannies. And which hath already swallowed up half our Parliament, and we fear to be an expedient to cut off our Parliaments for ever; for if this Council of State survive the Parliament, how shall we obtain a new Representative? If the Parliament sit but till a new one be ready to take their places, farewell Parliaments, farewell Freedoms.

Further, we find the just and legal way of trial, by twelve men of the Neighbourhood in criminal cases, utterly subverted in this new constitution of an High Court; a President for ought we know to frame all the Courts of England by, and to which our selves may be as well subjected as our enemies. And considering not one oppression is removed, not one vexation in the Law abated, nor one punctilio of freedom restored, or any fair hopes at all appearing, but oppression heaped upon the back of oppression, double cruelty upon cruelty: we therefore from those many considerations betook our selves as Englishmen to make our Addresses unto the Parliament, as the proper refuge and Authority of the people for our and their Addresses, in which by birth we challenge a right, as also by the price and purchase of our hazard and blood; and our Civil Rights we cannot yield up, we shall first rather yield up our lives.

And this after the weak measure of our understandings, we judg we have given a rational and full accompt of the occasion and reason of our Petitioning, and we hope satisfactory to your Excellency and this Council, humbly praying that you will make a charitable and fair construction thereof.

And

*And we further desire, that you will take special notice of the serious Apprehensions of a part of the People in behalf of the Common-wealth, presented to the House by Lieut Col.* John Lilburn, *and divers other Citizens of* London, *and the Borough of* Southwark Feb. 26. *now published in Print To the which with due thankfulness to those our faithful friends the promoters and presenters thereof, we do freely & cheerfully concur, to stand or fall in the just prosecution thereof as the most absolute Medium to our peace and freedom that hath been produced, and we hope it will produce an happy effect upon this Council, to prevent the otherwise inavoidable dissolution and division that will ensue upon us all, which to prevent shall be the faithful endeavours of* Sir,

Your Excellencies most humble Servants and Souldiers.
*Robert Ward. Simon Grant. William Sawyer. Thomas watson. George Jellies.*

These Petitioners being seased, were tryed at a Council of War, but (for fear of too much exasperating the Army) were only sentenc'd in this manner, Coll. *Baxter* being then President, who delivered judgment in these sententious learned words.

*Gentlemen for so I think I may without offence call you, for as yet you are Souldiers; but truly you are not long to continue so: For you are guilty of high crimes, as your Letter here by you owned doth manifest, being Scandalous as to the Parliament, Council of State, High Court of Justice, and tending to breed a mutiny in the Army; for which you have in a high measure deserved death; but through the mercy of the Court that is waved, and truly they have waved the Sentence again and again, and now they are come as low as possibly they can: and it being late I shall declare unto you your several Sentences, which are as followeth.*

You

You shall ride with your faces towards the horse Tails before the heads of your several Regiments, with your faults written upon your Breasts, and your Swords be broken over your heads, and so cashiered the Army, as not worthy to ride therein, and a Proclamation to be made, that none shall receive you into any Troop, Company, or Garrison. And this I would have you look upon as a great mercy of the Court.

Which sentence was accordingly executed upon them, in the *Great Palace Yard* at *Westminster*, *March* 6. to the exasperation of the Army.

Soon after all the Army, quartering near *London*, rendezvouzed at *Ware*; where several Regiments, among whom was *Cromwel's* of Horse, (in pursuance of the same Petition, and to be known by themselves) wore white in their hats: *Oliver* had intimation of it, and thereupon he appointed two Regiments of Horse from further quarters who were ignorant of this Combination to appear there likewise. Being all drawn up in *Battalia*, *Cromwel* with an angry and down look rides round, and of a sudden Commands one of those two Regiments to encompass a Regiment of Foot, which being done he commanded four men by their names out of the body, and committed them with his own hands to the Marshal, and immediately called a Council of War, (while the rest of their Partakers slunk their White Colours into their Pockets, and trembled at this boldness of *Cromwel*) and tryed and condemned them: but by the favour of the Court they were to cast Lots for their Lives, two only to dye; by which means the two Guilty persons, and whom *Cromwel* chiefly aimed at, and lusty Fellows also, escaped, but the two other sneaking ignorant Fellows were presently shot to death, upon

a green Bank by the other two, in the Face of the Army.

But yet could not this humour be purged out of the Army, though another Leveller bled for it, one *Lockyer* a Trooper, who for promoting the engagement and agreement was shot to death at St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and was attended to his Grave like a General Officer, a thousand people of the *Lilburnian* Faction following his Herse, all of them wearing Black and Sea-green Ribbons; Colours that denoted a *Storm* was coming, the whole Army being now generally leavened with the same principle, and furiously enraged at this Butchery of their Fellow Souldiers, being avowedly egged on by the said *Lilburn*, and secretly encouraged by the Royal party, who promised them their assistance in case they should need it.

And it was seen when too late by the Souldiery (the Instruments of that Tyranny) that they had borrowed their Libertinism at a dear rate, the price of their Lives; like *Cratanders* they should domineer for a while, but then become *Victimes* to their short ridiculous Usurpation, while the Revenges of their Rebellion followed their endeavours after those vain glorious shadows of their own casting.

The first formidable eruption of it was at *Salisbury*, where Col. *Scroops* Regiment of Horse laid aside their Officers, and with their Colours marched thence, in order to a conjunction with *Harrisons*, *Iretons*, and *Skippons* Regiments, who had confederated (by means of those Adjutators) in the same design: which affair admitting no delay, *Fairfax* and *Cromwel* with his own Regiment advanced to them to *Bagshot*, and so to *Alton*, where they had notice

that

that they were marched to *Abington*, (whither after a tedious march of forty miles in one day) the General came; and *Cromwel* fell presently to work with his old arts of Treachery; for *Harrisons* Regiment was hasting to the Conjunction.

His first fineness in order to their reducing was the offer of Treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutually given, and that done, that neither party should come whithin Ten miles one of another; whereupon the Levellers marched to *Burford*, and being opposed at a Pass called *Newbridg* over the River, to avoid any quarrel, and hoping the Souldiery there would no doubt joyn with them upon the Treaty, passed a mile lower, and arriving at the Town, relied so much upon the Generals and *Cromwel's* engagements, that most of them had put their Horses to grass, leaving a *Corps de guard*, of some 60 men, the whole party making in all 900. consisting of 12. entire Troops, reputed the best in the Army, and whose defeat would have cost many mens lives, if the Army would have stood against them. But to save that difficulty, while those secure Troops were resting themselves, and their Horses put into the adjoyning Meadows, about 12. a Clock at night Coll. *Reynolds* fell into their quarters, having notice from some Traytors within of their posture, and presently mastered the Guard, not dreaming of such a Camisado, or suspecting of an Enemy, and seized most of the other, then tipling or asleep. Here were taken neer 900 Horse, and 400 Prisoners, whereof three only were Executed, one *Thompson* and two more, who dyed very resolutely, Cornet *Den*, expressing his grief and sorrow, was reprieved at the instant of Execution, which their fellows beheld from the

Leads of the Church, and were saluted with a Message of Decimation; but that *Cromwel* might ingratiate with the Army, for his sake, and at his instance they were all pardoned, and sent home to their own houses. The great Chieftain of them, being pursued as he was marching towards the party, took into *Willingborough-wood*, where couragiously defending himself, he was killed by Carbine shot, refusing to take quarter at such perfidious peoples hands. This Hurly Burly being over, and ended like a flash, the General came to *Oxford*, where he was highly treated, and he and *Oliver* made Doctors of the Civil Law.

This proved the utter Suppression of that faction, and rendred the Army entirely at his command, without any farther dispute of their Leading; so that they presently submitted to the Lot which Regiments should be sent to *Ireland* (then almost reduced to the Kings obedience by the Marquiss of *Ormond*) which thus decreed it, *viz.* 11. Regiments, *Iretons*, *Scroops*, *Hortons*, and *Lamberts*. Of Horse, One of Dragoons under Coll. *Abbot*. Of Foot, *Eures*, *Cooks*, *Hewsons*, and *Deans*. And three new ones, *viz. Cromwels*, *Venables*, and *Phayrs*.

*Cromwel* was ordained Commander in Chief, and tituladoed with the Style of Lord Governor of *Ireland*; while *Fairfax* was left here to attend the Parliament, and pass away his time in the Dotages of his Success, giving him the Honour of subduing that Realm, and preparing it to his Usurpation.

He, with a very potent Army was now landed at *Dublin*. Whereupon a strong Garrison of 2500. Foot and 300 Horse, resolved men under the charge of Sir *Arthur Aston*, was put into *Drogheda*, the nearest

reſt Garriſon to the late defeat of the Marquiſs of *Ormond*; which *Cromwel* (naving refreſhed his Army a while at *Dublin*) came to beſiege. The Town was ſtormed reſolutely thrice, and as well defended; Sir *Arthur Aſton* being ſo confident, that he adviſed the Lord Lieutenant not to precipitate any thing, for he ſhould hold them play a while; but in the third aſſault Colonel *Wall* being unfortunately killed, his diſmaied Souldiers liſtened to the offer of quarter before they had need of it, and admitted them upon thoſe terms. *Cromwel* having notice that the Flower of the *Iriſh* Army was in his hands, gave order to put all in Arms to the Sword, where were killed Sir *Arthur Aſton*, Sir *Edmund Varney*, Coll. *Warren*, Coll. *Dun*, *Finglaſs*, *Tempeſt*, &c. with 3000 Soldiers the beſt in that Kingdome.

He came next before *Wexford*, which having refuſed to accept of a Garriſon, now the Enemy was under their Walls, was content to admit of 500 men under the command of Sir *Edmund Butler*, and the Lord Lieutenant came alſo in ſight of the Town; before whoſe face *Stafford* the Governour of the Caſtle baſely betrayed it to *Cromwel*, together with the Town who there treacherouſly murthered 2000 more.

Moſt abominably and barbarouſly cruel he was in this place; for near 200 of the better ſort, and the beautifulleſt Women of the City, having (upon the Town being entred) fled to the Croſs, and with the command of their charming eyes, and thoſe melting tears, prevailed upon the Souldiers for quarter, now at his coming thither, and after a laughing jeering enquiry what they did there, and other mocking inſultations, were commanded to be knock'd on the head;

which those that promised them life nobly refusing, He commanded another Regiment to encompass them, and there most horribly massacred them all.

*Ross* was the next place whither a Garrison was sent under the command of *Luke Taaff*, with order (the Town not being tenable) to render upon Conditions, which accordingly (a breach being made) they did, and marched away with their Arms. His next attempt was upon *Duncannon*, but the noble *Wogan* and the *English* Cavaliers gave him a foyle; hence he retreated to *Ross*, where he made a floating-bridg, that so, having a passage to the other side, he might compel *Ormond* either to divide his Army to observe his motions, or otherwise to get a passage into *Munster*, where he held intelligence with the several places that would then Revolt; and accordingly for all my Lord *Taaff* was sent thither before hand to secure them, yet *Youghal*, *Corke*, and all the *English* Towns of *Munster* openly Revolted, and many of my Lord *Inchiqueens* men, allured by Money and Commands in *Cromwel's* Army, ran over to the Enemy; and his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having lost the opportunity of Fighting *Cromwel*, by his dislodging from *Duncannon* by night when the *Irish* were cheerful and earnest to engage, was never after in a condition fit to venture a Battel. He therefore passes over this Bridg and so into the County of *Kilkenny* facing his enemy and moving up and down after him, while his Lieut. G. *Jones* with parties took in the Castles, and *Carrick* was wretchedly betrayed to him by *Martin*, that commanded there; whence *Cromwel* passes his Army into *Munster*, and takes several Castles by the appearance only of his Horse: only at *Kilteran* he received a repulse, but

but *Ballisannon* was sold to him; *Kilkenny* was taken next, after a stout defence made, the Townsmen complying contrary to the Souldiers knowledg, who were driven into the Castle and there conditioned. The next enterprize he went in hand with was *Cromwel*, kept by Major General *Hugh Neal*, who behaved himself so well, that the Enemy having lost 2500 men before it had gone away without it, had it not been that the Garrison wanted powder, so that they got over the River to *Waterford* in the night, leaving the Townsmen to make conditions for themselves, which the Enemy not knowing the Souldiers were gone readily granted. It is very observable here, that though against the advice of the Council of War he had resolved on this Storm; upon the Defeat, he ascribed it wholly to their confidence in the Arm of Flesh and presently enjoyned his state *Crambe* of a *Fast* throughout the Army. Soon after Coll. *Rich* received a brush from my Lord *Broghil* in the County of *Cork*, where the Bishop of *Ross* being taken was hanged.

I have thus briefly discoursed of the war in *Ireland*, that I might hasten to the grand event, and from the Camp (after another expedition) conduct him to the Palace, the main consequence of his life, which rendred all his other actions so notable and conspicuous.

The *Irish* War thus in a manner ended, and the *Scotch* War ready to Commence, the Committee of Estates there, having concluded with the King at *Breda* and he upon his Voyage to that Kingdom, where all correspondence with the *English* was by Proclamation forbidden, and all manner of Provision stopt from carrying into *England*, though the *Junto* at *Westminster* had used all Artifices to keep

the Scots from closing with him, who were so far disposed thereto, that they had barbarously murthered the Great Marquis of *Montrose*, a *Hero* far surpassing *Oliver* in Conduct, and who was untimely and unfortunately taken away from the rescue of his Country; *Cromwel* (like a Fury) was ready at hand to take a revenge of that Fact. For having been secretly called for over from *Ireland*, to amuse all parties, (both the *Irish* who trembled at his presence, and made no considerable resistance against him and his Fortune; and the General himself at home, who expected not such his sudden rivalship to his command, which gave him no time for mature consideration of the design; the *Scots*, who though alarmed by frequent rumours of an *English* Invasion, yet were not so forward in their Levies, as having assurance of *Fairfax*'s dissatisfaction) he was now wafted over into *England*, preventing the Letters he had sent to the States to know their express pleasure for his departing that Kingdom.

On the beginning of *June* he returned by the way of *Bristol* from *Ireland* to *London*, and was welcomed by *Fairfax* the General, many Members of Parliament and Council of State at *Hounslow-heath*, and more fully complemented at his Lodgings, and in Parliament by the Thanks of the House, and the like significant Address of the Lord Maior, &c. of *London*, being looked upon as the only person, to the Eclipse and diminution of the Generals Honor, which we shall presently see him paramount in the same supreme Command.

The World that considered the carriage of this Politick towards his Prince, and with what impetuous violence, and short-living *extempore* Counsels,

He

He had bereaved him of his Life, had wondered that hitherto he had ſuffered the Command of the Army to reſt in *Fairfax*'s hand, and had not practiſed ſome quicker expedient to remove him; that having finiſhed the work of his Generation (as they canted it with *Eſſex*) he did not give him a Fig for his labour; but *Cromwel*, who courted his *Minion* of *Providence*, and devoted himſelf to her care and tuition of his deſigns, would not raſhly precipitate his Ambition without her Augury, but await the Aſſiſtance and Concurrence of ſome promiſing Revolution, which thoſe many Military croſs re-encounters of that turbulent New State did certainly bode. And the *Scotch* War, now evening, the lucky minute was come, and his Brazen Head told him *TIME IS*; for from hence he dated his Empire and Sultanſhip, and the *Æra Olivaria*, chooſing to derive his Succeſſion to the Supreme Power, rather from the unperplex'd *Tradition* of the *Sword*; than from the upſtart bold Title to, and a forcible *wreſting* of the *Scepter*. And yet ſuch Helps and Hints he way-laid to his Throne, that it was rumoured ſoon after abroad, that he was deſcended of the *Britiſh* Princes, and near allied to *Henry* the Seventh, the glory of that race. But to proceed.

This Command of courſe was devolved upon my Lord *Fairfax*, and he deſired to accept it, but he being inſcrupled by ſome of the *Presbyterian* Miniſters (who were highly incenſed at this war) as it was cunningly foreſeen by *Oliver* and his Party, (who never endeavoured his ſatisfaction) and pretending a reluctancy from the Obligations of the National Covenant to engage againſt their Brethren, totally declined it, transferring the long expected Military Supremacy, by a Vote of the Parliament to *Cromwel*, who

who very zealously accepted the Charge, and with all readiness prepared for the expedition; which made the second Trophy or Garland of those strangely and wonderfully prosperous *Free-States* of *England*.

On the 12. of *June* it had been resolved that the Army should advance Northward, but it was towards the end of *July* before they arrived there; for on the 21. of that Month *Cromwel* quartered at *Berwick*, from whence he sent a Letter and Declaration to the Committee of Estates, fraught with hypocritical canting expressions, which the said Committee suppress, returning answer, that they would reply to it by Messengers of their own; and lest any of their people should be deluded by the like fair words, they made it Treason for any person to correspond with the *English*, and fell a driving all their Cattle and Provision in the parts next adjacent to them, beyond *Edinburgh*.

*Cromwel's* Army was now reckoned 16000 effective, with which he came first to *Mordington*, his Head-quarters *July* the 25. thence to *Hadington*, within 12. miles of *Edinburgh*, on the Hills whereabouts the *Scots* had encamped themselves, declining to engage till all their additional Forces were come out of the *High-lands*. On the 25 of *July* the *English* advanced, and attempted one of the said Hills, where a small party of the *Scots* were, and beat them presently off; when a party of *Scotch* Horse fell in the Rear with such fury and vigour that they wholly disordered it, and with Reserves and Fresh bodies seconded and persued this advantage; which being perceived by Major General *Lambert* and Coll. *Whaley*, who had the Rear-guard, they courageously repulsed

repulſed them to their Trenches: in which Action *Lambert* had his Horſe ſhot under him, was run through the Arm with a Lance, and taken Priſoner, but was reſcued by one *Lieutenant Empſon*. This paſt, and the Army wet and weary in their way to *Muſcleborough*; betwixt 3 and 4 in the morning, another party of ſome 1500 Horſe, the flower of the Army, being veterane Blades, under the Command of Coll, *Montgomery* and *Stranghan*, fell with great fury and more exact valour upon them betwixt ſleeping and waking, and brought a Terrible fright and diſmay upon the whole Army, Charging almoſt clear through upon the Sands; but returning with their Priſoners, were ſet upon, by freſh Troops under Coll. *Okey* in good order, and forced to double their ſpeed home to their Camp, having loſt an hundred men, (to the ſame number in the former attempt) and ſome of their Officers ſlain and wounded; but came off otherwiſe with honour enough, giving the Invaders little hopes of ſo eaſy a Victory and Conqueſt as the Fates had decreed to them, and their invincible Fortune.

Several jealouſies, animoſities, and diſcontents were now raigning among the *Scots*, more ſupremely than the Kings Authority; the Kings friends wholly diſcountenanced and laid by, even *Presbyterians* themſelves no way underſtanding one another, ſome willing to give the King his Rights without more ſtipulation and Engagements; others of them thinking they could not ſufficiently debaſe his Authority, and that it ſhould wholly depend on the Kirk; and to that purpoſe ſeveral irreverend *Poſtulata* were put to him, beyond the Tenour of the Treaty at *Breda*: and in fine that party prevailed ſo, as that the Army, then on foot, was in effect but very little for the Kings Intereſt

Interest and Service, but was wholly at the disposal of the rigid Covenanters. This was not unknown to *Cromwel*, who thereupon never ceased Scribling and Divulging of the *English* Armies good intention to the People of *Scotland*; *With whom they have no quarrel, but against a Malignant powerful Faction who had brought in the King, to the disturbance of the publick National-peace & Friendship betwixt the two People; & that he was willing by Conference to give & receive satisfaction therein, otherwise to decide the Justice of that cause by Battle.* To which when no answer would be returned, he advanced on the 10. of *August* (having recruited his Army by those Provisions that were plentifully brought by Sea, the Fleet Sailing an even pace with him and observing the same signals) on the west-side of *Edinborough* up to the Line of the *Scotch* Army playing his Canon, which were likewise answered, and Encamped on *Penicland-Hills*, little above *Edinborough-Castle*, intending to March for *Queens-ferry*; but the Passes were so difficult, and other Considerations intervened, that he proceeded no further. Next morning came a Letter to him with a Declaration from the Estates and Kirk by sound of Trumpet, Declaring that the quarrel being now stated, and the King ready to consent to their demands, they were resolved to put it to the issue; and that the World may see what that was like to prove, it will be worthy the memory of those Transactions, to particularize them in this short abstract.

*Cromwel* being thus far advanced into *Scotland*, beyond the most advised Fears of the Parliament of *Scotland* (who had newly welcomed the King at St. *Johnstons*) and their Army yet unprepared to fight him, they thought fit to entertain his Time and divert his

his Haſt with a Declaration, wherein moſt abominably they diſowned the King, without ſuch and ſuch Satisfactions, to the tenor of the moſt rigid and undutiful conditions, that the worſt of Rebells could have put upon a Prince; which being once confirmed and aſſented to by him, they would be ready to give Battel as the quarrel ſhould then be ſtated, and upon which they might expect a bleſſing. But this wile advantaged not the Kirk, but only ſerved as a Directory to *Oliver*, where he ſhould level his Treaſonable projects.

To this *Cromwel* takes very good occaſion to reply, and help out their Sophiſtry with ſome more of his own; and to let the *Scots* see of how near affinity the Kirk and the Congregational way were in this reſpect to the King, he permitted, nay, cauſed their Declaration to be publickly read to his Army; putting the *Scotch*-Remonſtrants upon theſe Dilemma's; *That their profeſſed diſowning of Malignants, and receiving and aſſiſting their Head and Chief, in whom all their hope lies, cannot conſiſt in common ſenſe or prudence; reciting (as evidence thereof) the late Popiſh affairs in Ireland, and Prince* Ruperts *roving at Sea. That ſuppoſe He (the King) ſhould give ſecurity of his turning, it muſt be ſome other way than by a few and feigned formal ſubmiſſions, for it is his neceſſity and his old Complices that counſel him to that Complyance: Nor is it poſſible for the* Scots *(in the way that they are now in) to be able to ſecure themſelves or* England; *and concludes, that upon this quarrel, if they be ready to fight, his Army attends there for that purpoſe; and therefore the* Scots *cannot complain for want of an opportunity.*

Theſe peſtilent and alike dangerous Papers, which in

in effect seemed rather an agreement than cause of quarrel between the Antagonists) were warily considered by some, even of the Kirk-men who loved the King, as of sudden and desperate consequence to his Majesties Person and Government, so highly vilified and dis-regarded; so that a Declaration (to the liking of the Kirk) was extorted from Him, that there might no cause of pretence remain, either for their obstinate carriage towards him, or ready compliance with the Enemy.

Hereupon the *English* Army advanced again, and though several Bodies of *Scots* Horse appeared, yet they presently withdrew upon their approach; which that it might not be altogether frustrate, *Cromwel* in sight of them caused a Garrison (called *Redhouse*, within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*) to be Stormed, wherein where taken 60 Foot, and the House made tenable and manned by the *English*: while the *Scots* (being necessitated for Provisions, and to joyn with some other Forces from *Fife* and the West) had marched two miles beyond *Edinburgh*, having a great Hill on the one side, and the City and a River one the other, so that it was very hazardous to engage them, being drawn up in Battalia, the great Guns playing on both sides. In which posture and attendance the *Scots* and *English* stood, and neither changed ground, till Provisions growing scarce, *Cromwel* retreated to *Penckland hills* (*Lambert* having had some discourse and conference with *Stranghan*, *&c.* about the former equity of their cause, *de lanâ caprinâ*) and thence with some difficulty (by reason of bad weather) to *Musscleborough*, for Provant, and thence a few dayes after to *Dunbar* with intention by shipping or any other way to get into *England*, being now closely followed

lowed by the *Scoth* Army in there Rear; who rightly gueſſing the *Engliſh* to be weakened with long Marches and want of victual, made cock-ſure of a total victory, which ſnatching at before it was ripe for them, fearing nothing more than that they would eſcape them, they ſaw themſelves miſerably fruſtrated, and their diſpairing Enemy, a moſt inſulting Conquerour.

On *Sunday* at night, the firſt of *September*, the *Engliſh* (making at moſt not above 12000 men) came to *Dunbar*, whither the *Scots* (keeping cloſe at there Heels) came alſo, and drew up their whole Army, conſiſting of between 20. and 24. thouſand men, upon a high Hill within a mile of the Town, to the great amazement at firſt of the *Engliſh*, but diſpair adding Reſolution to their courage, they preſently drew out in *Battalia* in the Cornfield near adjoyning, and ſo ſtood all night, being encamped upon a Neck of land, whoſe breadth was not a mile and half from Sea to Sea; ſo that they were by Land quite cooped up. In confidence therefore of an aſſured Victory, *David Leſhley*, who commanded this Kirk Army in chief, began to advance as early as the Sun next morning, and drew down the Hill fixing at the foot thereof, and about four a clock in the afternoon brought down his Train, there being a great Ditch betwixt both the Armies. That night the *Engliſh* (by Command) placed themſelves cloſe to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces likewiſe in every Regiment, that they might be in a readineſs in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt any thing upon them, who were vainly expecting terms of a rendition; boaſting that they had them in a worſe pound, than the King had the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Leſtithiel* in *Cornwall*.

The

The Miniſters eſpecially, having their voice in the Council of war held by this Kirk Army, moſt earneſtly urged the Engagement and fight (againſt thoſe that were of opinion to let the *Engliſh* eſcape, and not venture the fortune of War, upon an Enemy made deſperate: of which there were ſo many ſad examples) ſaying that God had delivered *Agag* meaning *Cromwel* into their power, and if they let him go, would require him at their hands.

On *Tueſday* morning at four of the Clock, a Brigade of the *Engliſh* Army drew down to poſſeſs themſelves of a Paſs upon the Road, between *Edenburgh* and *Berwick*; which being had, they might with the more eaſe and advantage, make their way home, and in order thereto paſs over to the Enemy, to fall upon them. This Brigade conſiſted of three Regiments of Horſe of M. G. *Lamberts*, Commiſſ. Gen. *Whaleys*, and Coll. *Lilburns*, and two of Foot, one whereof was *Prides*. This gave the *Scots* a great Alarum, and a ſore diſpute happened about the Paſs, which laſted above an hour, the great Guns playing in the mean time againſt both the bodies. At length that ſtout Bridage gained and poſſeſſed the Paſs, much gallantry and bravery being ſhewed on both ſides. This Paſs lay at *Copperſpoth* in the *Engliſh* way homewards, to impede which, they had drawn off their beſt Horſe upon the right Wing to receive the *Engliſh*, whoſe word was the *Lord of Hoſts*, theirs *The Covenant*.

The Enemy charged hereupon with their Lanciers, ſo that the Horſe gave way a little, but immediately rallied, and the foot advancing to ſecond them, the *Scots* were charged ſo home, that they put them preſently to the rout, it being about ſix a Clock in the morning,

morning, the left wing of Horſe without ſtriking one ſtroke, following the ſame way. The Foot ſeeing this rout and flight of the Horſe, and not able in any order by reaſon thereof to engage, were all of a ſudden ſo confuſed and confounded, that without any reſiſtance or offer of Engagement they threw down their Arms and fled, giving the *Engliſh* the full purſuit of them above 8 mile beyond *Hadington*, only one ſtout Regiment of *Highlanders*, who began the fight, maintained it moſt bravely and fearleſly after the ruine and rout of their Army till ſcarce 20 of them were left, ſome of them fighting and making uſe of their Swords as they lay wounded upon the ground, to the leſſening the ignominy of that defeat by their ſingular and conſpicuous valor, which hath reared it ſelf and honourable monument, amidſt the inglorious durt of ſo many Cowards. The number of the ſlain were 4000. 9000 Priſoners, many whereof were deſperately wounded; and 10000 Arms, all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage: Priſoners of Note were Sir *James Lumſdale*, Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Libberton* imployed by the States to the King lately, and died of his wounds preſently after the fight at *Dunbar*, Adjutant General *Bickerton*, Scout-maſter *Campbel*, Sir *william Douglaſs*, Lord *Cranſton*, and Coll. *Gurden*; 12 Lieutenant Colonels, 6 Majors, 42 Captains, 75 Lieutenants, 17 Cornets, 2 Quarter-maſters, 110 Enſigns, Foot and Horſe Colours 200. 27 Guns, ſome Braſſe, Iron and Leather, with the loſſe of not above 300 *Engliſh*, and one Major *Rookiſly* who dyed after of his wounds; there was likewiſe taken the Purſe to the great Seal of *Scotland*, which was preſently ſent up to *London*, and the Colours with thoſe taken before

at *Preſton*, ordered forthwith to be hung up in *Weſt-minſter-hall*; The full Contents of all which was ſignified in a Letter from the General in his uſual ſtrain of devour Zeal, tending very much to ſtrengthen the *Independent* againſt the *Presbyterian* at home, and the advancement of a pretended Common-wealth to the imitation of the reſt of the world; the latter part thereof for the ſeverer Aſpect it had towards the Miniſtry in favour of *Anabaptiſts*, with which the Army ſwarmed, I have here inſerted. ——

*The Miniſters of* Scotland *have hindered the paſſage of thoſe things* (*meaning* his affection to the good people of Scotland) to thoſe to *whom we intended them, and now we ſee that not only the deceived people, but ſome of the Miniſters* (*three or four*) *are fallen in the fight. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the conſideration of thoſe who taking into their hands the inſtrument of a fooliſh Shepherd, to wit, medling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to ſet up that which they call the Kingdom of Chriſt,* (*which is neither it, nor if it were it, would ſuch be found effectual to that end*) *and neglect, or truſt not to the word of God, the ſword of the Spirit, which is alone able and powerful to that end, and when truſted to, will be found effectually able, &c. this is* Humbly offered for their ſakes (*who have lately turned too much aſide*) *that they might return again to Preach Jeſus Chriſt; &c. and then no doubt they will deſerve and find your protection and encouragement. Which* humble offer was to command a ſtrict Inquiſition upon them, as thoſe moſt probable to *obſtruct the new module of his future greatneſs.*

The glory of this field, though it were by his own party aſcribed to his valour, yet it laid a great blemiſh

miſh on his Conduct, and indeed the reſcue of his honour was principally to be referred to *G. Monck*, whoſe company he had obliged in this expedition, (being very underſtanding in the choice, and as ſubtile in the ſhaking off his Friends and Familiars.) He had newly had a Regiment conferred on him, made up of recruits and other imperfect Companies, and did now at the Generals requeſt draw and deſign the fight, and embattle the Army, and ſeconded that deliberate ſpeculation with forwardeſt of action, for which indeed moſt of the Officers were very praiſeworthy. After the fight *Cromwel* uſed ſome catching courteſies to the wounded Souldiers, and the feebler ſort of Priſoners (it being his uſual Injunction to his Chyrurgions, to have as much care of the Enemies ſick, as of his own, to oblige their fair report of his victorious Generoſity) but the poor *High-landers*, and ſuch like, paid dear for that partial kindneſs ſhewed their Country-men, as many as with difficulty eſcaped Famine being ſold for ſlaves to the *American* Iſlands.

On the fourteenth of *September*, General *Cromwel* marched out of *Edenburgh* with 7 daies proviſion, for the *Scots* had not left any manner of ſubſiſtance betwixt that and *Sterling*, and on the 15. reached beyond *Linlithgow*, but through bad weather was conſtrained to retreat thither that night for ſhelter, the 16. to *Falkirk* within a mile of *Sterling*, from whence freſh Letters of the old ſtrain were ſent into that City, but the Trumpeter was not ſuffered to enter, whereupon order was given for a ſtorm, but upon better thoughts of the danger, forborn; ſo that on the 19. of *Sept.* they returned to *Linlithgow*, (whither came General *Dean* to him

from Shipboard, being newly arrived at *Leith*, in the *Speaker* Frigot) and for.ified the Town, being the road way betwixt *Edinburgh* and *Sterling*, and a ſufficient Garriſon was left to maintain it, and on the 22. the *Engliſh* returned to *Edinburgh*, where Col. *Whalley* had offered the Miniſters (fled to the Caſtle) leave to come out and Preach in their ſeveral Pariſhes, but they refuſed: Another Cajole to the Kirk.

*Cromwel* encamping and traverſing hereabouts with his Army, but not being able to effect any thing againſt the main Army of the Kings that lay on *Sterling*-ſide, reſolved to be doing with a Party that then lay in the Weſt of *Scotland*, under the Command of the Colonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, with whom *Cromwel* had maintained an open intercourſe, and had proffered them a Ceſſation; driving at this, to take them off and ſubdivide the Nation in ſeveral parties. And the effect of his Papers, taxing the *Scots* with the admiſſion of the King upon the old Malignant ſcore, did operate as he projected; for thereupon out comes a Declaration or Remonſtrance from theſe Weſtern fellows, full of ſawcy and treaſonable language, which accordingly was voted both by the Commiſſioners of the Kirk, and the Committee of Eſtates, to be ſcandalous and ſeditious, Sir *James Stuart*, and Sir *John Chieſly*, and one Mr. *Leviſton* (who ſeemed to countenance it) were ſtrictly watched, and *Straughan* taken and made Priſoner in *Dunbarton*, and after in *Cathenes-Caſtle*, whence he eſcaped and came over to the *Engliſh* at *Edinburgh*: but 'twas more the *ſacred hunger* of Gold, than zeal for Religion, made him firſt betray his King, and his Country after, and we ſhall ſee all *Cromwel's* Proſelytes

ſelytes of that Nation, both *Dundaſſe*, *Warreſton*, and *Giffan* to love nothing ſo much as the Mammon of *Presbytery*.

*Straughan* thus removed, Major Gen. *Lambert* was ſent to prevail with *Ker*, either by blows or words, the latter being thought as feiſible as the former; and accordingly on the laſt of *November*, having difficultly found, and paſſed a Ford over *Hambleton* River, *Ker* got notice of it, and reſolutely fell into the Major Generals Quarters at a Town of that name; but the Horſe being in a readineſs to receive him, he loſt 100. Men, had his right hand almoſt cut off, and was taken Priſoner, and the reſt of his party, being five Regiments of Horſe, two whereof were the Earl of *Caſſells*, and Lord *Kirconbrights*, purſued as far as *Ayre*, where Commiſſary General *Whalley* was now left to command in chief in thoſe Weſtern parts: *Cromwel* had marched with his Army this way as far as *Glaſgow*, in *October*, but underſtanding or dreading the Enemy would come and relieve *Edinburgh Caſtle* with Proviſions, and another Governour (being in Treaty with the preſent for a ſumme of money) he forthwith retired; having there took and Garriſoned two Houſes, while Coll. *Whalley* took in *Dalkeith*, and another neſt of *Moſſe-Troopers*, yet his coming thither hindred Major Gen. *Mountgomery* from marching into thoſe parts, to reduce *Ker* likewiſe to his obedience to the King.

*Edinburgh-Caſtle* had been beſieged ſome Months and upwards, with little loſs on either ſide, ſave that the great Guns from the Caſtle did ſome Miſchief in *Edinburgh ſtreets*, and one Capt. *Hamilton* was ſhot in the head with a Muſquet, as he was viewing the Caſtle, and the Morter-pieces made reſem-

blance of great terrour and annoyanee to the beſieged; a Mine was likewiſe carried on ſome 60. foot, the Stone being cut all the way; but then they could proceed no further, being come to the Rock whereon the Caſtle ſtands: Nevertheleſs the *Derbyſhire* Miners (being 12. in number) did what they could to proceed, the enemy throwing Pitch and Flax, and other combuſtible ſtuff into the Works. At laſt the perſonated Hoſtility came to a period, and *Dundaſſe* old *Levens* Son in Law, pretending want of Water, offered a Parley, and having premiſed a colourable requeſt of ten daies time, to ſend to the Committee of Eſtates, by whom he ſaid he was intruſted, which he knew was to be denyed; after ſeveral miſſives betwixt *Cromwel* and him, concluded the rendition of that moſt important place to the Kings Service, in theſe Articles agreed on, betwixt Major *Abernethy Dundaſſes* man, and Capt. *Henderſon* on one ſide, and Coll. *Monck*, and *L.* Coll. *white* on the other, (it was always before called the *Maiden*, it may henceforth be called the *Proſtitute-Caſtle*) the Articles were as follow.

*That the Caſtle ſhould be ſurrendred to his Excellency* Oliver Cromwel, *with all the Ordinances, Arms, Magazine, and Furniture of War thereunto belonging, on* Tueſday *the* 24. *of* December. 2. *That the Governour, Officers, and Souldiers, ſhould march with Drums beating, &c. in military poſture, to ſuch place as they ſhall appoint.* 3. *The publique moveables, private writs and evidences to be removed to* Sterling. 4. *That Proclamation ſhould be made for all that had goods in the Caſtle, to come or ſend, to owne and receive them.* 5. *All ſick Officers and Souldiers, as well ſuch as hurt (in reputation) to have liberty to ſtay in* Edinburgh

Edinburgh, *and the* Engliſh *to provide Horſes and Wagons for the Governour and other Officers, and Hoſtages to be given on the* Scots *part for performance.*

There were found in it Five French Cannon, nine Dutch half Cannon, two Culverings, two demy Culverings, two Minions, two Falcons, twenty eight Braſs Drakes called Monkeys, two Petards, betwixt ſeven and eight thouſand Arms, neer 80 Barrels of Powder, and a like ſtore of Cannon ſhot: Col. *Fenwick*, was preſently upon the ſurrender, made Governour of this and *Leith*; Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, and Mr. *Scot* were preſent at the Rendition thereof, and then departed, their work being done; which that it may appear for a piece of the vileſt treachery any *Scot* ever committed (though *Cromwel* aſcribes it in his Letter to the Speaker, to the alone wiſdome of God beyond all humane power and accompliſhment) take this account from the *Lovers* themſelves of this Treaſon at *Edenburgh*. *The greateſt want they had was of Beer, but as for Oatmeal, Butter, Freſh-water, and Salt meat, they had enough, the Maſter Gunner told me, that when our Guns were a drawing to the Batteries, he had ſo placed his Pieces, that ours could not poſſibly have been planted without great loſs, but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden by the Governour upon pain of Death.* His *man* Abernethy *went often out of the Caſtle, upon pretence of getting Intelligence,* (but it was to hold it with *Cromwel*) *ſure it is, that* Dundaſs *and he and ſome others were a little wiſer, and went not over the water as they had made Conditions, ſome of thoſe that did being impriſoned* (*the Court and Camp being ſadly affected with this loſs*) *the Provoſt of* Edinburgh, *Sir* James Stuart *is in Town, but keeps private, leſt the Wives in the Street*

*should abuse him as they did* Straughan *and Ker at their coming hither; the Lord* Warreston *who came (as he pretended) for the Records, is not yet returned, but stayes in Town, for he cares not to go back: He and the rest of that Remonstrant Tribe are summoned to come to Parliament, Col.* Dundass, Straughan, *and Capt.* Giffan, *with* Abernethy, Swinton, *and* Andrews, *were else to be excommunicated and declared Traytors, which was done* Jan. 14 *Mr.* James Guthry, *and the Earl of* Lothian, *and Gen.* Holborn, *were generally suspected, with Sir* John Chiesly, *who are every day expected in our quarters;* Rutherford, *and* Gillespy *are likewise Dissenters from the present manage of Affairs. Ker* saith, his wound on his right hand is Gods justice against him, for lifting it up against us in such a cause as he maintained. And so I will conclude all those treasonable practices, and fomented divisions of that Nation against their common interest by this Master of all Treacherous Arts.

*Cromwel* was again very earnest and intent upon making or finding a way by *Sterling*, and therefore on the 8. of *February* he marched thither again, having been informed of some Fords thereabouts where he might pass his Army, or at least impede their raising new Forces, and way-lay their marching into *England*, which was given out as the grand design, a Force being left on that side the Water, sufficient to sustain any Impression of the *English*; and to that expedition Duke *Hamilton*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Cleveland*, *Wentworth*, *Wilmot*, and C. *Massey* who had a noble and full Regiment, and was to be Major General, with the noble and most Loyal Capt. *Titus* and Col. *Graves* were designed. *Cromwel* as was said, to this purpose, in very tempestuous weather reached his

his intended paſſes, but found the approaches to them ſo boggy and unpaſſable, that in the ſame ſtreſs of weather, his Army half ſpoiled with cold, and other diſcommodities, he was forced to retire again as he had done twice before, (having only alarum'd the *Scots*, and put them into a ſudden poſture of defence) to *Glaſgow*, and to await the time of his Boats Arrival and a happier ſeaſon of the year.

This was the Seat of Rebellion in that Kingdom, and very fit for his Head Quarters, and Univerſity alſo; which remembers me that *Cromwel* a little while before was choſen Chancellor of *Oxford*, and honored hereabouts with the publick Seal thereof on purpoſe to ſtave off the rapinous ſacrilegious hands of the Parliam. who were a hammering upon an Act for the Sale of Colledge-Lands, to carry on their Wars; and *Crom.* did (as was well projected) undertake their preſervation, and did expreſs ſome angry reſentment at the Parliament for this Barbarity, laying his hand as uſual upon his Sword; moreover he did promiſe to defend and maintain them againſt all ſuch baſe and wicked Attempts by whomſoever, and that not without a menace to the Authority ſhould deſign it, againſt whom he was veay ready and willing to provide himſelf of Crimes, Accuſations, and ſuch notorious and invidious Complaints: beſides that it made the Univerſity a ſure friend to him, which was as conſiderable as half the Kingdom. And this was a borrowed Policy practiced by all the diſputed rights and Titles to the Crown. There was this remarkable, that the Deligates of the Univerſity declared not their main deſign till they had given him his Oath as Chancellor, which was thought of little ſecurity, but only that the ſolemnity of it might the better

ter mind him to whom he had given it. Hence after ſome debates and publick diſputes with the Miniſters *viz. Gilleſpy*, *Rutherford*, &c. of *Glaſcow* aforeſaid, concerning the lawfulneſs of this Invaſion, which he performed (as he ſaid) in much weakneſs of (both Argument and) body, ſeeing there was no drawing the Scot out that way to fight, which way they intended for an undiſturbed March, marched back to *Edenburgh* by the beginning of *May* (and in his way burned down the Lady *Kilſithes* houſe, for holding Intelligence with the King) having notice of the Arrival of his Boats at *Leith*, for the tranſportation of his Army into *Fife*, which was the laſt remedy; the failure of Victuals in the Scotch Camp, which therefore they ſhould be forced to abandon and march, proving a meer deluſion.

*Cromwel* being at *Edinburgh*, having notice how the King lay encamped at *Sterling*, *Leſhly*'s Foot quartering on the Southſide, and *Middleton* on the North-ſide of the Park, encompaſſed with a ſtone Wall; and that abundance of Proviſion was brought in daily, ſuppoſing they would march; drew all his remaining forces out of the Weſt with as much care and conduct as could be, and encamped likewiſe in the Fields by *Edinburgh* in a readineſs for them, whether to march or fight: But in the mean time, he was taken very ill of his Ague; ſo that Dr. *Wright*, and Dr. *Bates*, two eminent Phyſicians, were ſent down to attend his Cure, and many blith and anxious diſcourſes were made concerning his death, as either party wiſhed, for he was brought very low; but being recovered to ſome degree of health by theſe Gentlemen, it was preſently ſounded like a *Proclamation*; and I have therefore thought fit to tranſcribe

a piece of the Letter, that the world may see what queer Hypocrites his Attendants, like himself and his Times, were by the pious nonsense and most blasphemous flattery of this Apocrypha Epistle. If I knew the Secretary or Inditer, I would record him for his Pen,——*Truly Sir, his Life and health are exceeding precious, and I account it every day a greater mercy than other that we have his Life, observing that every dispensation of God draws him nearer to himself, and makes him more heavenly and holy, and by consequence more useful for his Generation, in the management of that power, which God hath committed to him*, &c.

This Occasion of his sickness minds me of one passage of his Life, wherein was a *Ray or Specimen* of his *Humanity*. He had a Servant a *Frenchman*, one *Drury*, that attended him in his Chamber, whom of all his Retainers he best loved, and would hardly brook his absence out of his sight, whether for that he could more freely communicate his Privacies to a Forraigner, who was altogether unconcerned in them, and therefore of a greater secresie and confidence; or for his diligence and care of his Person, set off with national fondnesses, and insinuations: This fellow dying not long after, *Cromwel* did passionately grieve thereat, and for the memory of this his dear Servant, made ample Provisions by a Pension for his Relations, which continued during his Usurpation. At last with much ado by the helps of Physick, and the especial constant attendance of those Doctors sent him, and charged with his preservation by the Parliament; *Cromwel* fully revived to theirs (afterwards) as well as the Kingdoms sorrow.

The *English* Army in *Scotland* was now in motion for

for graſs, and marched upon their old deſign of *Sterling* to *Newbridge*, ſo to *Lithgow*, from whoſe Caſtle Battlements, they might eſpy the Tents of the *Scotch* Army encamped in *Torwood* four miles of this ſide *Sterling*, (whither his Creature *Warreſton* was now ſummoned by the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly peremptorily by the third of *July*) having caſt up a regular and well fortified line with Bulwarks mounted with Guns, and having a River behind them, which they might paſſe at pleaſure; in this poſture they awaited the *Engliſh*, who coming up and facing them on the third of *July*, in the night following the *Scots* drew up their Cannon, and planted them on the brow of the Hill, and next morning ſaluted *Cromwel* with 50. great Guns, but with little Execution; which made him quickly draw out of ſhot, and give over his once begun reſolution of attaquing them at ſo much diſadvantage. The *Engliſh* therefore marched back again, Ma. General *Lambert* being ſent from *Glaſgow* a week after to view the paſſes, which he reported by reaſon of the boggy approaches there, to be very hazardous. Upon their departure from *Lithgow*, to *Glaſgow*, the *Scots* removed from *Torwood*, and encamped at *Kilſith*, a place environed with inſuperable defences, having a Bog on one hand, and craggy Mountains on the other; but the *Engliſh* Army (having eaten up all at *Glaſgow* and thoſe parts, and trod down the Corn ſtanding, that the *Scots* might find no ſuſtenance that way, if they ſhould march) appearing and marching with great noiſe, on the other ſide, they imagining the *Engliſh* meant to clap in between them and *Sterling*, haſtened back again to their old line at *Torwood*, *July*, 13. whither *Cromwel* followed, and to provoke them to an Engagement

gagement, ſtormed *Calender-houſe* in their view, and put all the Defendants except the Governor, to the Sword, and then ſeeing there was no poſſibility of fighting with them, but that they were reſolved to keep them in play, till Winters ſcarcity of Horſe-meat ſhould make them give over and depart the Kingdom, he encamped himſelf, awaiting the ſucceſs of his deſign by Boat into *Fife*.

While *Cromwel* thus attended the *Scots* at *Torwood*, within a mile and a half of them at *Falkirk*, at length the long expected ſucceſſe of a tranſportation into *Fife* manifeſted it ſelf: for Col. *Overton* with 1400. Foot of his own, and Col. *Daniels* Regiment, with four Troops of Horſe of Col, *Lydcots*, having with the loſs of a few men gained a place called *North-ferry* on the other ſide the *Frith*, on the 17. of *July*, had as the time ſerved intrenched themſelves; and before the *Scotch* Army then beyond *Sterling*, could reach them with a ſufficient force to drive them out, Major G. *Lambert* was paſſed over to them, it being an Arm of the Sea, and had defeated Sir *John Brown* with 4000. men; the ſucceſs and great conſequence of which, and the ſaid tranſportation, I will briefly ſum up in *Cromwels* Letter.

*In purſuance of the providence of God, and that bleſſing lately given to your Forces in* Fife, *and finding that the Enemy being Maſters of the Paſſe at* Sterling, *could not be gotten out there without hindering his Proviſions at St.* Johnſtons, *we by general adviſe thought fit to attempt Saint* Johnſtons, *knowing that that would neceſſitate him to quit his paſſe; wherefore leaving with Major Gen.* Harriſon *about* 3000. *Horſe and Dragoons, beſides thoſe which are with Col.* Rich,

Rich. *Col.* Saunders, *and Col.* Barton, *upon the Borders, we marched to* St. Johnſtons, *and lying one day before it, we had it ſurrendred to us; during which time we had ſome intelligence of the Enemies marching Southward, though with ſome contradiction, as if it had not been ſo; but doubting it might be true, leaving a Garriſon in St.* Johnſtons, *and ſending L. Gen.* Monck *with* 5, *or* 6000. *men to* Sterling *to reduce that place; and by it to put your affairs into a good poſture in* Scotland: *We marched with all poſſible expedition back again, and have paſſed our Foot and many of our Horſe over the Frith this day, reſolving to make what ſpeed we can up to the Enemy; who in this deſperation and fear and out of inevitable neceſſity is run to try what he can do this way. I do apprehend that if he goes for* England, *being ſome few daies march before us, it will trouble ſome mens thoughts, and may occaſion ſome inconveniences, of which I hope we are as deeply ſenſible, and have, and I truſt ſhall be as diligent to prevent as any; and indeed this is our comfort, that in ſimplicity of heart as to God, we have done to the beſt of our Judgments, knowing that if ſome iſſue were not put to this buſineſſe, it would occaſion another Winters War to the ruine of your Souldiery, for whom the Winter-difficulties of this Country, are too hard, and be under the endleſs expence of the Treaſure of* England, *in proſecuting this war.*

*It may be ſuppoſed we might have kept the Enemy from this, by interpoſing between him and* England, *which truly I believe I might, but how to remove him out of this place without doing what we have done, unleſſe we had had a commanding Army on both ſides the River of* Frith, *is not clear to us, or how to anſwer the inconveniences aforementioned we underſtand not;*

*we*

*we pray therefore, that seeing there is a possibility for the Enemy to put you to some trouble, you would with the same courage (grounded upon a confidence in God) wherein you have been supported to the great things in which God hath used you heretofore, improve the best you can, such Forces as you have in readiness, or may on the sudden be got together to give the Enemy some check, untill we shall be able to reach up to him, which we trust in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in; and indeed we have this comfortable experiment from the Lord, that this Enemy is heart-smitten by God, and when ever the Lord shall bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will make the desperateness of this Counsil of theirs to appear, and the folly of it also; when* England *was much more unsteady than now, and when a much more considerable Army of theirs unfoiled invaded you, and we had but weak force to make resistance at* Preston; *upon deliberate advice, we chose rather to put our selves between their Army and* Scotland, *and how God succeeded that is not well to be forgotten.*

*This is not out of choice on our part, but by some kind of necessity, and it is to be hoped will have the like issue, together with a hopeful end of your work, in which it's good to wait upon the Lord, upon the earnest of former experiences, and hope of his presence, which only is the Life of your Cause. Major Gen.* Harrison, *with the Horse and Dragoons under him, and Colonel* Rich *and the rest in those parts, shall attend the motion of the Enemy, and endeavour the keeping of them together, as also to impede his March, and will be ready to be in conjunction with what Forces he shall get together for this Service, to whom Orders have been speeded to that purpose, as this enclosed to Major*

*General*

*General* Harriſon *will ſhew. Major General* Lambert *this day marched with a very conſiderable Body of Horſe up towards the Enemies Rear; with the reſt of the Horſe and nine Regiments of Foot (moſt of them of your old Foot and Horſe) I am haſting up and ſhall, by the Lords help, uſe the utmoſt diligence: I hope I have left a Commanding Force under Lieutenant General* Monck *in* Scotland. *This account I thought my duty to ſpeed to you, and reſt*

Leith. 4 Auguſt 1651. *Your moſt humble Servant,* O. Cromwel.

This ſhews what ſudden troubled apprehenſions He had of this well deſigned March of the Kings, and made him repent his obſtinacy of Honour in reducing St. *Johnſtons*, by which the King got three days march of him: but however he excuſed this to the Parliament (who were almoſt in deſpair, and terribly affighted at the News of it) yet they did highly tax him for his negligence even to ſuſpicion, and ſpoke ill words of him, which came to his ears, and for which he ſoon after cryed quits with them.

The King departed from *Sterling* the laſt of *July*, and came into *England* by the way of *Carliſle*, and upon his firſt footing there was Proclaimed rightful King of *Great Britain*, and did thereupon publiſh his Declaration: wherein He offered his free Grace and Pardon (to be confirmed by an Act thereafter) to all his Subjects of *England*, of what ever nature or crime their offences were, excepting *Cromwel*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Cook*, the more immediate principal murtherers of His Father; and therewith proſecuted his march, being proclaimed in the ſame manner through all the Towns he paſſed.

On

On the 22. of *Auguſt*, the Van of the Kings Army entred *Worceſter*, ſome reſiſtance being attempted to be made by ſome new raiſed Forces under one Coll. *James*, and by the influence of Baron *Wild*, but the Townſmen ſaved them the labour of driving them out, and moſt joyfully welcomed theſe weary Gueſts and ſuch to as in 1645, had been extreamly oppreſſive and intollerably burdenſome at the Siege of *Hereford*; but their gladneſs at the Kings preſence, and hope of his Reſtitution, obliterated all other conſiderations and remembrances whatſoever. The Mayor and his Brethren at the Kings *Intrado* did Him the cuſtomary but moſt chearful obeyſances, tendring him the Keys and Mace upon their Knees, and bidding him and his Forces welcome to this his Majeſties Ancient and Loyal City, where the ſame day with great ſolemnity he was a new proclaimed, and the tired Soldiers moſt abundantly provided for, being in all *Scotch* and *Engliſh* ſome 13000. who had marched 300. miles outright in three weeks.

In the mean time the Parliament had amaſſed a numerous Militia in all the Counties of *England*: and glad were the Members that the King ſtayed for them, for nothing was more dreaded then his continued march to *London*, which place would have ſoon ridded their fears, upon an approach of the Kings Army but 30. miles further from *worceſter*: but to prevent that, as *Eſſex* did before at the beginning of the War (whoſe firſt efforts took this way) *Cromwel* by long Marches through *New-caſtle*, *Rippon*, *Ferrybrygs*, *Doncaſter*, *Mansfield*, and *Coventry*, had interpoſed himſelf, and joyned with his Army at *Keynton*, where a General Council of all his Officers was held, and a ſpeedy advance to *Worceſter* re-

solved on, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* being dispatched to bring up his Forces, then on their way at *Banbury*, the gross of all the Forces amounting to above 50000. effective, Militia and all.

By this time *Cromwel* had surrounded the City of *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a compasse as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields. The first passe endeavoured to be taken, was *Upton-Bridge* on *Fleetwood*'s side, which Major Gen. *Lambert* attempted with 500. Horse and Dragoons, who unespied crept upon their Bellies on a piece of Timber they had laid over the River, which the surprizing Assailants after a brisk dispute wrested from Col. *Massey*. The *Scots* having thus abandoned the place, it was presently possest by a strong Party of Horse and Foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The *Scots* now drawn closer to *worcester* made many Salleys, breaking down 2. or 3. Bridges over the River *Team*, and shewing a well ordered and governed courage; but *Septemb.* 3. that ominous day, he drew out from his own Post and (having given the signal to the whole Army to fall on) began the Fight in this manner.

*Cromwel* himself in person (about 3 a Clock with his Life-Guard and Col. *Hacker*'s Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Regiment, and Col. *Ingoldsby*'s, and *Fairfax*'s entired) passed over his Bridge of Boats upon the *Severn*, and marched towards the City; after him, L. G. *Fleetwood*, who had been most part of that day marching of 5 miles from *Upton* to *Powick-Bridge*, which the Kings Army had broken down, passed with Col. *Goff*'s and Maj. Gen. *Dean*'s

*Dean's* Regiment, and joyntly advanced, the Kings Forces encountring them at the Hedges, and disputing every field with them, in such order and with such gallantry, that these already over (lest they should not wholly be discouraged with the hotness of the service) were relieved by reserves, and they by others, no considerable progress yet made, the Highlanders proving excellent Firemen, and coming to the But-end at every foot, till weary, and their Ammunition spent, the King, being then upon the place, Commanded them in some hast into the City, and hastned himself to the other side; where Col. *Heyns* Regiment, with *Cobbets* stood about *Powick-Bridge*, and were entertained with no less Manhood and Slaughter: and though Col. *Matthews* was the reserve to the other 2 Regiments, yet the *Scotch* Foot fairly drove them from their ground, till their little Army being every way engaged, and no seconds or supplies to be expected, after some wheelings in a careless regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town, as did that Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray*, Col. *Blague*, *Gibbons*, and *Marsh*.

But they stayed not long here, for as if their spent spirits had broke out with greater fury, they sallied out in great bodies upon *Cromwel's* post, who had now brought the *Militia* forces into play, the Veterans wisely detracting to engage first upon the storm which was then intended, but there was yet field matter enough to do. In the head of one of those Squadrons, the King himself charged with that gallantry which would have become our Admiration in other men, and shewed he had not forgot the Discipline of

War, in which he had been brought up in his youth; In one of those charges he made, Duke *Hamilton* a better Soldier, and nobler gallanter person than his Brother, received a shot on his Thigh, whereof presently after he dyed. The loss that way sustained by the Enemy fell principally upon the *Essex* Foot, and those of *Cheshire* and *Surrey*, who returned in thin Troops and Companies to their Counties; but fresh and entire Brigades and Regiments, in Reserves, namely *Desboroughs* Regiment of Horse, *Cromwel's* of Horse, M. G. *Lambert's* of Horse, *Whaley's Harrison's* and *Tomlinson's* Brigades, with other foot reinforcing them; the *Scots* by the overpowring multitude were driven into the Town, *Leshley* with 2000 Horse (upon what account not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve them, when the Enemy entred pel mel with them, and gained the Fort Royal about 7 a Clock at night, about which time the King left the Town, it being dark, and accompanied with some 60 Horse of the chiefest and most confident of his Retinue, though many more pressed to bear him Company, departed out of St. *Martins-gate*, and it was reported that *Cobbet* very narrowly mist him, as the King left his Lodging, whither he first hastned.

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and according to their Order fell a plundering the Town in a most barbarous manner, as if *Turks* were again *Sacking* of *Constantinople*, and giving no quarter to any they found in the Streets: through this their greedines of spoil, they kept the Horse out lest they should have shared the better part, and to that purpose kept the Gates fast as they were, and so favoured as (God would have it) the Kings escape, some

*Scots*

*Scots* who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained quarter for Life, by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worcester*, friend or foe, left worth a farthing; but the Loyal Inhabitants lost little by the Bargain, being supplyed with fresh wares to their desires from *London*, without a scruple of credit or payment, and their Debts forborn till such time as God should enable them, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to pass, by their more than ordinary resort to that Market, for all necessaries and upon all occasions. The Mayor (being Knighted by the King) and Aldermen were committed to Prison, and the Wife of one *Guyes* (who for betraying the designs of the King in that Garrison was hanged) was rewarded with 200 *l. per annum*, and 200 *l.* down.

There were slain in the field and in Town (in the last the most) and in pursuit some 3000. and some 8000. taken prisoners in several places, most of the *English* escaping by their *Shiboleth*, the principal were Duke *Hamilton* (who presently dyed of his wounds) and at *Newport* the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnworth*, Earl of *Kelly*: Earl of *Derby* Earl of *Cleveland*, the now Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *John Packington*, the Lord *Spyne*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*; C. *Graves*, Mr. *Richard Fanshaw* Secretary to the King, 6 Col. of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Leut. Col. of Horse, 8. Leut. Col. of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 Majors of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quartermasters, 89 Lievtenants; there were some General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 90 Quartermasters, 80 of the Kings Servants, with the Kings Standard which he

had set up when he summoned the Country, the Kings Coach and Horses, and Collar of SS. but that which was Ten times more then all (the Kings person) they had no power to touch.

On the 12. of *Sept. Cromwel* came to *London*, and was met about *Acton* with the Speaker and the Members and the Lord Mayor and the Recorder *Steel*, who in a set Speech congratulated his great Successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken Prolepsis applyed these words of the Psalmist, ---*To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant Exaltation of his Atchievements: Next day the common Prisoners (being driven like a Herd of Swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Tuthil-fields*, (a sadder Spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to *Barbadoes*: the Colours taken were likewise set up in *Westminster-hall*, with those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

He had now passed and surmounted all the difficulties and troubles that the Interest of the Crown hitherto threatned, and nothing was wanting to the Completion of his Aimes, but the Kings person, most miraculously preserved and rescued, to the perpetual disquiet and vexation of this *Would-be-Monarch*. But because that sacred story ought not to be blasphemed with the impiety of his, I will not mingle any of those blessed Providences of his Escape, with the direful designments of *Cromwel's unobstructed passage* to the Throne.

For having superated all *outward* appearances of danger to his ultimate design, there remained nothing but a wretched and hated *Junctо* of men with whom

whom he was next to grapple; things so slighted by him, and there Authority so scorned after this discomfiture of the King, that he never vouchsafed them a good look, nay publickly expres'd his resentments of their saucy expostulations of his conduct about the Kings march for *England*, which was mentioned before.

And therefore at his first coming into the House, (where he was entertained by the Speaker, with the second part of *Steel's Panegiryck*) a motion was started for a new Representative, and all the Codlings and Embroy's of *Triplo* and *Newmarket-heaths* Engagements afresh resumed, and those Army expedients for which so many Levellers had suffered now again revived, acknowledged, and applauded for the only conducing means to the long expected settlement.

The main whereof was the Proposal of a new Representative to be equally chosen to succeed the present Parliament. A most abominated and deprecated evil by the members, who having done so much mischief, and incurred so much detestation for practising his and their mutual designs upon the best Government and the most incomparable Prince in the world, were almost at their wits end with madness at *his*, and invention of *their* (*contra*) devices.

While these things were debating amongst them, and every day produced some fresh altercation and quarrel about dissolving this and choosing of a new Representative, which the Souldiers not only from their former principle as *English* Freemen, but now as the Generals *Janizaries*, and in obedience to his dictates and commands, with the pretensory advice of his Council of Officers unanimously and readily urged,

ged, (for he had brought the Army to his Bow, and disciplined them to a most exact ignorant devotion and obedience to his Service during the *Scotch* War, where the distance of the Commonwealth-men could not reach) his second self his Son in Law *Ireton* died in *Ireland*, just as he was coming to the fruition of those grand projections they had both conspired. He had employed his Vice-Government after *Cromwel's* departure in reducing places held for the King, there being no field Service ever after.

He survived not the total Conquest of *Ireland*, to which he was by compact and *Oliver's Bull* decreed, but saw a very fair prospect thereof in the rendition of *Limrick* and the expected delivery of *Galloway*: and since this concerned *Cromwel* and the Agreement between them (which is most certain though none of those secret compacts are discoverable) I will give the Reader his Character, and this short account of his decease here.

*Limrick* being taken, *Ireton* marched to joyn with Sir *Charles Coot* to attempt something further, and together took in *Clare* Castle, but the weather not proving so seasonable, and the Souldiers tired with duty at the Sigge of *Limrick*, they parted into winter Quarters, *Ireton* back again to *Limrick*, in the way whither he fell sick on the 15. of *November*, and after purging and bleeding, and other means used, died of the Plague in that City on the 27. of the same month, the Commissioners for the Parliament, there substituting to his command in the Army (while the Parliament or General (for *Cromwel* was lately so made of *Ireland*) should otherwise appoint) *Edmund Ludlow* the Lieutenant General of the Army in that Kingdome. On the 17. of *December* his Car-

cass

caſſe was landed at *Briſtol*, and pompouſly diſmiſs'd to *London*, where it was for a time in State at *Sommerſet-Houſe*, all hung with black, and a Scutcheon over the Gate with this Motto, *Dulce eſt pro patriâ mori*, how ſutable, that Countryman beſt told who Engliſhed it in theſe words, *it is good for his Country that he is dead*: on *Feb. 6.* following he was interred in *H. 7.* Chappel (being carried out with a pompous Funeral, at which *Cromwel* was chief Mourner, and the *Members* of the *Junčto* attendants in black with a great deal of State) but hath ſince found a fitter repoſitory for his accurſed duſt. It was believed by the Army who did credit their own conjectures and others Impoſtures for want of literature, that he was a perfect Commonwealths-man, and would have withſtood his Father in Law in his ambitious intruſions upon the Parliament, and this becauſe he was the Drawer or Promoter of all the Levelling Fundamentals, but he prevented their *riper* and truer *judgment* by appearing to a greater and moſt exact *Tribunal*, and *periſhed* with *rottenneſs* in the *maturity* of his, and this his *Compeers* deſign.

He was abſolutely the beſt Prayer-maker and preacher in the Army, for which he may thank his Educations at *Oxford*, though *Oliver* came but little behind him, being very frequent and inſtant, now eſpecially, in ſuch devotions, out of all ſeaſon and reaſon, but it was all one to the Souldiers who had nothing elſe to do but to *Prey* and to *Pray*. The other qualities and conditions of *Ireton* were ſo congenial with *Olivers*, that in the proſecution of his ſtory I ſhall but tell the ſame things, the *evil ſpirit* after his deceaſe being doubled upon him by a miſchievous *metempſychoſis*, a tranſmigration of ſoul, which aſſimi-

lated their Aſhes in the ſame grave at *Tyburn*.

The fortune of this grand atchievement at *Worceſter*, had ſubjugated all the Dominions of the *Engliſh* Soveraignty entirely under the power of the Free-States, the *Iſles* of *Scilly*, *Man*, *Barbadoes*, and *Chriſtophers*, ſubmitting and acknowledging their juriſdiction, all which were reckoned by *Cromwel* but the Trophies due to his valour and the reward of his labour. And therefore all things thus flattering his conceits of Majeſty, He was angry with himſelf for permitting thoſe delays to his eager Ambition, now complemented, ſmoothed and tyred by many fine and pretty Evaſions of the Members, who wanted not moſt juſt pretenſes to detain the Government from his handling; but of this preſently.

There was another thing in his eye which troubled him moſt of all, and reſpited and ſuperſeded his deſign upon the *Rump*, which was the Illuſtrious D. of *Glouceſter* then a Priſoner at *Carisbrook Caſtle*, the Priſon of his Father and the Cuſtody of himſelf; ſo long therefore as that Prince ſhould continue here he could not expect that a ſingle perſon could be oppoſed to his right, without manifeſt danger from all parties, who to be revenged of their injuries would rather comply with the Royal Family than ſuffer his bold Uſurpation. Therefore to quit himſelf of that Fear, he procured by his Party in the Parliament (who were reſolved to diſpoſe of him here in ſome ordinary profeſſion, to make Majeſty more contemptible in the ſight of Men) that for the leſſening the Charge of the Common-wealth, the ſaid Duke ſhould be tranſported into ſome place beyond Sea, with a promiſed Exhibition of ſome ſcorned Penſion.

The

The Noble Duke being accordingly removed to the great content and joy of his relations, who dreaded his Murther, and the satisfaction of *Cromwel* who was Gorged with his Royal Fathers, another danger returned from beyond Sea in exchange of that exported: for the *Dutch* gave manifest Symptoms of a Rupture with this new Common-wealth, whose insolent depredations at sea had molested and greatly damnified their Trade, and braved them to a revenge, upon a pique taken from their rejecting their officers of Treaty and Amity, and suffering their Ambassadors St. *John* and *Strickland* to be affronted at the *Hague*, while the Affairs of the King in *Scotland* were yet in suspence.

It was therefore a hazardous Enterprize to be fighting with two Common-wealths together, and to which his confidence and Resolution could not raise him, without a surer interest in the people, who were to undergoe his Tyranny. This now reprieved the Members from his Decree of Dissolution, while they had tryed the fortune of war with the *Dutch*, and had put things into such a posture and certainty, that no home alteration could discompose or disorder it, the Treasures for the support of the War, being now a filling, a Naval force rigging and equipping, and the Honour and glory of the Nation engaged and concerned. Thus far he cast his Eyes to foraign Transactions, leaving the intestine dangers to the *Functo's* desperation, for.

At home the Parliament had a greater mischief breeding against them than they feared from the most dangerous of their foraign Enemies. A dangerous impostume of ambition, whose quabbing-beating pains gave them no rest, nor could all their skill tell

how to assuage or cure it. It swelled every day more and more in continual addresses, desires, petitions, declarations, till it came to be ripe, and then burst out to the destruction of this political body. This was the reiterated and inculcated story of the Parliaments providing for future equal representatives and putting a period to this, than which nothing could be more distastful, and of greater antipathy to the present Members, which yet they did most artfully conceal, and dissemble in a hundred complying Votes and Resolves even to the ascertaining of the longest day, *November* 5. 1654. for their sitting, but that was two years too long for *Cromwel*, whose fingers itched to be managing a Scepter. In order to this delay, the Committee that first sat and hatcht upon this bill were removed from the nest, and the addle eggs put under the chill incumbency of other wildfoul, and they to proceed therein with all expedition, a thing so unlikely, that Sultan *Cromwel*, who expected a *grand Cairo* brood, resolved not to be baffled much longer, as after a Fast and humiliation of him and his Council of Officers; and the Communication of the grounds thereof, to the whole Army in *England* and *Ireland* (which was a lamentation for the tedious continuance of self. interested persons in the Authority, and other Religious melancholy about charity, the want thereof was greatly bemoaned) we shall fully discover.

Every other day almost more Fasts, or some such religious Exercise was managed by *Cromwel* and *Harrison*, who mainly promoted the same Proposals for a new Representative, in order to the personal Raign of Christ, and that therefore it was high time the Government was placed in the Hands of his Saints, for all the glorious Prophesies thereof were now

now ready to be fulfilled: and this was cryed up as the Doctrine of the Times.

*Cromwel* seemed to be of the same judgment and of that Millenary Principle, designing (as he said) nothing of those Mutations of Government which were agitating, but in tendency to that great Revolution: so that he had absolutely fooled *Harrison* into a confidence of his good Intentions, and that he aimed not at his own greatness: and thereupon all the party *Harrison* could make, which was *Feaks*, *Rogers*, and *Sympsons* Congregations, were impatient to have the Parliament outed, and their fine module to take place, wherein Righteousness and Holiness should be exalted in the Kingdoms of the World. And now the Turk and the Pope were horribly threatned, and *Oliver* look'd upon as the great Instrument that should confound Antichrist.

But though most of the Officers were thus bewitched and belotted, yet a great many of them had just and strong suspicions what his dissolution of the Parliament would end in, and therefore secret consultations were held how to oppose these practices upon the Parliament; in whose Authority conserved and secured, they were so wise as to think themselves safe and defended from the After-claps of the Rebellion: Among the rest, several Officers of note came voluntarily out of *Ireland* (as some out of *Scotland*) who had by their general Fasts perceived the Drift of their General, to withstand him, and publiquely protest against the conduct of this business, as directly tending to the overthrow and undoing all, for which so much blood had been spilt, and giving up the most glorious Cause in the World, to its vanquish'd Enemies; *Nolt* own Argument.

Major

Major General *Lambert* nevertheleſs did concur with him in every particular, the whole deſign being ſecretly imparted to him, and he promiſed as a reward for his Aſſiſtance, the ſucceſſion to the Supreme power. This intimacy of *Lambert* was of a long ſtanding ever ſince *Preſton-fight*, and was cemented the faſter by that complaycency *Oliver* took in his Wife, A woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleaſing attractions both for mind and body: The Voice of the people was, that ſhe was more familiar with him than the honor of her Sex would allow,& that ſhe had ſome extraordinary kindneſſes for him which ſhe had not for her husband; and that being the Medium or Reciprocation of Intelligence between them, ſhe did communicate all her husbands deſigns, and conceal ſome of the others; though ſhe needed not to have been ſo ſqueemiſh, or reſerved for one, whoſe Depths were never fathomed, or diſcovered to any one mortal, *Ireton* excepted. Of thoſe that oppoſed him in the Deſign; Col. *Venables*, Scout-Maſter-General *Downing*, and Maj. *Streater*, were the moſt eminent, who to that purpoſe, as aboveſaid, came out of *Ireland*; but Col. *Venables* was ſoon wrought upon, and Mr. *Downing* offering to ſpeak againſt it in the Council of Officers, and getting upon a Table for better Audience, was bid to come down by *Cromwel*, asking him what he did there? only Col. *Streater* perſiſted in his Reſolution of giving Reaſons againſt it, and being flammu'd by *Harriſon* with Chriſt's perſonal Raign, and that he was aſſured the Lord Gen. ſought not himſelf, but that King Jeſus might take the Scepter: He preſently replyed, *That* Chriſt *muſt come before* Chriſtmas, *or elſe he would come too late*. For this opportune oppoſition, and 10. Queries then publiſhed

liſhed by him in the Army, he was committed to the *Gatehouſe*, and look'd upon by *Cromwel* as his Mortal Enemy.

The next Scene of this applauded Comedy was laid at the *Cock-pit* by *Whitehal*, where *Cromwel* concealing the number of the Beaſt in his *Apocalypſe*, declared to his Council of Officers; *That if they ſhould truſt the People in an Election of a new Parliament, according to the old Conſtitution, it would be a tempting of God, and that his confidence was, that God did intend to ſave and deliver this Nation by few, as he had done in former times; and that five or ſix men, and* ſome few more, *ſetting themſelves to the Work, might do more in one day, than the Parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that ſuch* unbyaſſed *men were like to be the only Inſtruments of the peoples happineſs.*

Theſe things had been offered to be debated with a Commitee, and a Treaty agreed, wherein ſo many Officers, and ſo many Members ſhould meet, and argue the buſineſs, which ſignified only the crafty cunctation of the Parliament (who made Aſſes of the Sword men) St. *Johns* being one of thoſe Referees, with other reſty Sages of the Anarchy. By this means ſome 4 or 5. Months were ſpent upon the Definition of an equal Repreſentative: But *Cromwel* growing teaſty, ſome began to make particular Excuſes, others to promiſe a new Repreſentative to his mind, and ſome to ſide with the Equity of his Propoſals, as moſt conſiſtent, well adviſed, and prudential means, to the peace of the Nation; ſuch a ridiculous colluſion, that I cannot but anticipate the Event of this Conſpiracy with this Truth.

Upon his return from the Diſſolution of the Parliament

ament back again to the Council of Officers, He acquainted them of his Exploit, and then told them that now they must go hand in hand with him, and justify what was done to the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes, as having advised and concurred in it: Adding, That when he went into the House, he intended not to do it; but the Spirit was so upon him, That he was over-ruled by it, and did not therefore consult with Flesh and Blood at all, nor did he premeditate the doing thereof, though he plainly saw the Parliament designed to spin an everlasting Thread. And because there are few good Acts of his Life, let the Reader *score him up One*, for the 23. of *April* 1653.

*Oliver* himself attended by Maj. Gen. *Lambert*, *Harrison* and some 8. more Officrs, having after several conferences with their Committees ( who shewed him the danger of calling a new Representative, as the Case then stood with the Common-wealth, for that no qualifications could sufficiently secure the interest thereof, and that the only way was to recruit the House which could judge of such Elections by their own Authority ) received no satisfaction, entred the House, some Members being made privy to his design before, especially Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, who had held consultation the night before with him and was up armed in his chamber till the very time ) and after a Speech therein shewing the reasons and necessity of that Dissolution, did declare it to be so, and required them to depart; saying in some passion to some of them who began to ask the reason of this, *thou art a Whoremaster, thou a Drunkard, thou a Cheater of the publique*; and presently Maj. Gen. *Harrison* peremptorily bid the Speaker leave the Chair; which he refused to do without the Order of the House, and till

till he was pulled out; whereupon *Harrison* desired him to lend him his hand, and gently heaved him out; *Cromwel* also commanded that Bauble (as he called the Mace) to be taken away, and to be carried no more in State before him, and so having turned them out of Doors, lockt them up and clapt Guards before them, and about all the Avenues of the Palace, to keep these Spirits out from possessing it again.

The News of this Luciferian fall, was quickly spread throughout the City, and from thence into the Kingdom, being related and received with all imaginable gladness; while the Members slunk away, muttering to themselves the affront they had received, and laying their heads together how to retrive themselves; for loth they were to suffer this violence, or acknowledg their Dissolution; which they would by no means hear of. But whatever they fansied to the contrary, raving at this boldness & audaciousness of their Servant, as they styled *Cromwel*, he minded it not, but went on in his work.

The Government (such as it was) was now lodged in the Council of Officers of his own making and preferring, and the first thing done by them after this new module, was the Emitting of a Declaration from him and his Officers, shewing the grounds and reasons of this Dissolution of the Parliament, with an account of their Intentions as to the present and future government of the Nation: which that it may appear by how slender a thread the Sword of this lawless Commander hung over the heads of those Parliament Tyrants, is very requisite to be inserted, it holding forth the present Intrigues of *Cromwel*'s designs, and method of ambition.

*Our intention is not to give an account at this time of the grounds, which first moved us to take up Arms, & en-*

ge our lives & all that was dear unto us, in this Cause; or to mind in this Declaration the various Dispensations through which Divine Providence hath led us, or the witness the Lord hath born, & the many signal testimonys of acceptance the Lord hath given to the sincere endevors of his unworthy Servants, whilst they were contesting with the many & great difficulties, as well in the wars, as other transactions in the three Nations; being necessitated, for the defence of the same cause they first asserted, to have recourse unto extraordinary actions; the same being evident by former Declarations published on that behalf.

After it had pleased God not only to reduce Ireland, and give in Scotland, but so marvellously to appear for his People at Worcester, that these Nations were reduced to a great degree of Peace, and England to perfect quiet; and thereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the People the harvest of their labor, blood and treasure, and to settle a due liberty both in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, their Engagements, as also the great & wonderful things which God had wrought for them; it was matter of much grief to the good and well-affected of the Land, to observe the little progress which was made therein, who thereupon applied to the Army expecting redress by their means; notwithstanding which, the Army, being unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority in matters so properly appertaining to it, it was agreed, that his Excellency and Officers of the Army, which were Members of Parliament, should be desired to move the Parliament, to proceed vigorously in performing what was amiss in Government, & to the settling of the Commonwelth upon a foundation of justice & righteousness; which having done, we hoped that the

Parlia-

Parliament would seasonably have answered our expectations: But finding (to our grief) delaies therein, we renewed our desires in an humble petition to them, which was presented in August last, and although they at that time signifying their good acceptance thereof returned us Thanks, & referred the particulars thereof to a Committee of the House, yet no considerable Effect was produced, nor any such progress made, as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was Petitioned for; but on the contrary there more & more appeared amongst them, an aversion to the things themselves, with much bitterness & opposition to the People of God, & his Spirit acting in them: which grew so prevalent, that those persons of Honour and Integrity amongst them, who had eminently appeared for God and the publick good, both before & throughout this War, were rendred of no further use in Parliament, than by meeting with a corrupt party, to give them countenance to carry on their ends, & for effecting the desire they had of perpetuating themselves in the supream Government. For which purpose the said party long opposed, and frequently declared themselves against having a new Representatives; and when they saw themselves necessitated to take that Bill into consideration, they resolved to make use of it to recruit the House with persons of the same Spirit and temper, thereby to perpetuate their own sitting, which intention divers of the activest amongst them did manifest, labouring to perswade others to a consent therein: And the better to effect this, divers Petitions preparing from several Counties for the Continuance of this Parliament, were encouraged, if not set on foot by many of them.

For obviating these evils, the Officers of the Army, obtained several meetings with some of the Parliament, to consider what fitting means & remedy might be applied

to prevent the same: lest that this Cause which the Lord hath so greatly blessed, and bore witness to should languish under their hands, and by degrees; be wholly lost; and the Lives, Liberties, and comforts of his people delivered into their Enemies hands.

All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest people of this Nation, as wel as by the Army, and wisdom and direction being sought from the Lord; it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God going along with us, to consider of some more effectual means to secure the cause, which the good people of this Commonwealth had been so long engaged in, and to establish righteousness and peace in these Nations.

And after much debate it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, that the Supreme Authority should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God and of approved Integrity & the Government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all Gods people, reform the Laws, & administer justice impartially; hoping thereby the people may forget Monarchy, and understanding their true Election of successive Parliaments, may have the Government settled upon a true Basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same.

And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary curses, we prevailed with about 20 Members of Parliament, to give us a conference with whom we freely and plainly debated the necessity and justness of our proposals on that behalf, and did evidence that those and not the Act under their consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that work, the foundation whereof God himself hath laid, and is now carrying on in the world. The

*The which notwithſtanding found no acceptance, but inſtead thereof, it was offered, that the way was to continue ſtil this preſent Parliament, as being that from which we might reaſonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently inſiſted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehenſions; That not any love to a Repreſentative, but the making uſe thereof to recruit, and ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their aim.*

*They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, That neither the Nation, the honeſt Intereſt, nor we our ſelves, would be deluded by ſuch dealings, They did agree to meet again the next day in the afternoon for mutual ſatisfaction, it being conſented to by the Members preſent, that Endeavors ſhould be uſed, that nothing in the mean time ſhould be done in Parliament, that might exclude or fruſtrate the Propoſals before-mentioned.*

*Notwithſtanding this, the next morning the Parliament did make more haſt than uſual, in carying on their ſaid Act, being helped on therein by ſome of the perſons engaged to us the night before, none of them which were then preſent endeavouring to oppoſe the ſame; and being ready to put the main Queſtion for conſummating the ſaid Act, whereby our aforeſaid Propoſals would have been rendred void, and the way of bringing them into a fair and full Debate of Parliament obſtructed.*

*For preventing whereof, & all the ſad & evil conſequences, which muſt upon the grounds aforeſaid have enſued, and whereby at one blow the Intereſt of all honeſt men, and of this glorious Cauſe, had been endangered to be laid in the duſt, and theſe Nations embroiled in new Troubles at a Time when our Enemies abroad are watching all advantages againſt us, and ſome of them actually engaged in war with us; we have been neceſſitated, though with much reluctancy, to put an end to this Parliament; which*

*Yet we have done (we hope) out of an honeſt heart, preferring this Cauſe above our names, lives, families, or intereſts, how dear ſoever; with clear intentions, and real purpoſes of heart, to call to the Government perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty: believing, That as none wiſe will expect to gather Grapes of Thorns, ſo good men will hope, that if perſons ſo qualified be choſen, the fruits of a juſt and righteous Reformation, ſo long prayed and wiſhed for, will (by the bleſſing of God) be in due time obtained, to the refreſhing of all thoſe good hearts, who have been panting after theſe things.*

*Much more might have been ſaid if it had been our deſire to juſtifie our ſelves, by aſperſing others and raking into the Miſgovernment of affairs; but we ſhall conclude with this, That as we have been led by neceſſity and Providence, to act as we have done, even beyond & above our own thoughts & deſires: ſo we ſhall & do, in that of this great work which is behind, put our ſelves wholly upon the Lord for a bleſſing; profeſſing we look not to ſtand one day without his ſupport, much leſs to bring to paſs one of the things mentioned & deſired, without his aſſiſtance: And therefore do ſolemnly deſire & expect, That all men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their own deſtruction, would wait for ſuch iſſue as he ſhould bring forth, & to follow their buſineſs with peaceable ſpirits, wherein we promiſe them protection by his aſſiſtance.*

*And for thoſe who profeſs their fear and love to the Name of God; that ſeeing, in a great meaſure for their ſakes, & for righteouſneſs ſake, we have taken our lives in our hands, to do theſe things, they would be inſtant with the Lord, day & night on our behalfs, that we may obtain grace from him. And ſeeing we have made ſo often Mention of his Name, that we may not do the leaſt diſhonour thereto: which indeed would be our confuſion, and aſtain to the whole profeſſion of godlineſs.*

*we beſeech them alſo to live in all humility, meekneſs, righteouſneſs, & love one towards another, & towards all men; that ſo they may put to ſilence the ignorance of the fooliſh, who falſly accuſe them; and to know that the late great and glorious diſpenſations, wherein the Lord hath ſo wonderfully appeared in bringing forth theſe things, by the travel & blood of his Children, ought ſo to oblige them, ſo to walk in the Wiſdom and love of Chriſt, as may cauſe others to honour their holy Profeſſion, becauſe they ſee Chriſt to be in them of a truth.*

*We do further propoſe, before it be long, more particularly to ſhew the Grounds of our Proceedings, & the Reaſons of this late great Action & Change, which in this we have but hinted at.*

*And we do laſtly declare, That all Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Committees, and all other Civil Officers, & Publick Miniſters whatſoever, within the Commonwealth, or any parts thereof, do proceed in their reſpective Places, & Offices, & all perſons whatſoever, are to give Obedience to them as fully as when the Parliament was ſitting.*

Signed in the Name and by the Appointment of his Excellency the Lord General, and his Council of Officers.

*Whitehall* the 22. of *April*, 1653. *William Malyn*, Secret.

To ingratiate now with the *Presbyterian*, who yet kept up their form of Church Worſhip, and were the moſt of one publick perſwaſion, all diſturbances in Churches were prohibited; the Phanatick licentiouſneſs of the Army, which ſwarmed with *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and *Ranters*, and were now mad to be ſeizing all the remaining Revenue of Church Lands,

in *Glebe*, *Tythe*, or *Impropriations*. And to this purpose Addresses were eagerly carried on, such hopes being under-hand given them, to strengthen the hands of this *Dictator* in carrying on the work of *Sion*.

He was also complemented by the *French* Ambassador *Bourdeaux*, who had made Applications to the Parliament, but was doubtfull of effecting his Errand with those highest and Mightiest States who were grown formidable not only to the *Dutch*, but to his Master, who willingly courted them to prevent their closing with his Rebells of *Bourdeaux*; only *Oliver* as we have seen, valued them no more than *Scoundrels* or *Rake Shames*, nor would give ear to any more Enemies of Monarchy.

Being thus by force possest of the Supreme power after he had held it some few daies, to shew the absurd and ridiculous State *Caprichio's* of the Council of officers who as yet managed the Civil Authority, he transmitted it to a new Council of State, made up of the Supremest of them, and some former *Junctomen*; who by Proclamation commanded all Officers to execute their Trusts, as formerly, and required the same obedience; to commute with which they abated the Tax from 120000 to 90000 *per mensem*. It was now remarqued that many great Fires usher'd in this Incendiaries Usurpation.

This Council of State did next give birth to that Monster of the little Parliament, which like an abortive Cub was *cast* by *Cromwel*, and fondly, and vainly *lick'd* by *Harrison*; both which had most different ends on this Convention, in the one a Temporal, in the other a spiritual Pride and Covetousness, (though not altogether purified from the Deceits of the World) worked in this mysterious knack of a new unheard

unheard of Legiſlative Authority; who by the Name of Men of *Integrity* and *Fidelity* to the Cauſe of God, were by a bare ſummons from *Oliver* called to the Settlement of the State; that was, to be Stirrups or Footſteps to the Throne whereon *Cromwel* ſhould tread, they being abject and mean people, being ſuch as were named by the Officers, that is, by *Cromwel's* Agents to this Council, and of moſt deſtructive principles to all Community, and Society, either as Men or Chriſtians. It is obſervable that *Cromwel* who utterly rejected the *Rump*-expedient to his inſtances of a new Repreſentative of filling up the Houſe, by foiſting in Elections of their own to which (their Authority ſtanding) they could unqueſtionably awe the Country, made not nice of it for himſelf in more preſumptuous and moſt illegal manner.

According to their Summons, on the 4 of *July*, the Members of approved Fidelity, *&c.* met at the Council Chamber in *Whitehal*, to whom *Cromwel* in a zealous Speech, much to the purpoſe of his Declaration, and the occaſions of the preſent Meeting, ſtuft with various citations of Scriptures, (I am loath to nauſeate the Reader with any more of his Harangues at large) to his, (but far from the) purpoſe, devolved the Supreme Truſt; which they tranſlated into more Common Engliſh, adjourning themſelves after a ſhort Conſultation to *weſtminſter*, and giving themſelves the Title and Authority of the Parliament of *England*, voting Mr. *Francis Rouſe* for their Speaker, but with a Collateral Vote that he ſhould continue in the Chair no longer than for a Month. They were perſons for the moſt part of ſuch mean and ignote extractions, that ſo far they were from being taken notice of by their Shires, each of whom (but two or three) repre-

represented, that they were scarce known in the very Towns they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the Excise, then Committees for Sequestration, and the War in the respective Counties, made them infamously known; The rest were of his Partisans in the Parliament and High Court of Justice.

On the 12. of *Dec.* (as it had been directed by the Council of State) the Parliament being sate, some of the Members stood up one after another, and made a Motion for a Dissolution thereof, for that it would not be for the good of the Nations to continue it longer; this court Air almost blasted the men of *Fidelity* and Committee Blades, who had scarce warmed their Fingersends in the Government, and were newly feeling themselves and their Friends in a thriving way, as they had done in their Offices they had passed before: and thereupon they began one after another to make perorations of the Cause of God, and the Godly People committed to their Charge, which they could not tell how to answer him, if so easily they should give it up, and leave the Commonwealth in such a distraction as would inevitably ensue: and M. G. *Harrison* & *Arthur Squib* (the great Sequestrators of *Haberdashers-hall*) were very copiously zealous in defence of their Authority: But the Military or Court-party being the Major part not thinking them worthy of a dispute or longer debate, the Speaker being of their side, rose and left the House and them sitting in it, where to prayers they went, and then resolved to continue sitting.

In the mean time *Rouse* the Speaker with the Mace before him (and his Followers) came to *White-hall*, and there resigned the Instrument he gave them, by which they were constituted a Parliament, and gave him

him likewise to understand how they had left their Fellows: Their surrender was kindly received by *Oliver*, and they thanked for the pains they had taken in the service of the Commonwealth, however he and they had miss'd of their intentions of the good should thereby have come to the Commonwealth, which a strange spirit and perverse principle in some of the Members had solely hindred; and as to them yet Sitting in the Parliament House, he dispatch'd away Lieut. Col: *white* a Confident of his to dislodge them, who accordingly with a Guard of Red-coats came thither, and entring the House, demanded them in the name of the General to depart, for the Parliament was Dissolved: who replying to the contrary, and telling him they were upon Business, and ought not to be thus disturb'd; he asked, what Business? they answered, we are seeking of God; Pugh saith he, is that all, that's to no purpose, for God hath not been within these Walls these 12 years, and so fairly compelled them out muttering with the same wrath and sorrowful look-backs, as those that had sate 30 times the same term, and could have almost pleaded prescription.

Thus was the Power emptied from one Vessel to another, as the Scribes and Chaplains of the Grandees phrased it, and could find no settlement, till *Oliver* was called to it by his Council of Officers, to supply this gap in the government: and now a single person with a Council is the only expedient, for the Safety of the People; for that there is no trust nor truth in Parliaments, as their often aberrations and failures had sufficiently declared; and it was discoursed by the Abettors of this Change, that it was not Monarchy which was quarrelled at, but the corruptions and abu-

ses

ſes of it, in its unlimited unbounded Prerogative; all which would be avoided, by the circumſcription of it in a Protector, by his Council and a new Inſtrument of Government, and the ſupreme power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom during their Seſſion the Soveraign Authority ſhould reſide.

So they ſaid, and ſo they did: for after 4. daies time (in which *Feak* and his Freaking Partiſans were almoſt run from their wits in rage and madneſs) *Crom.* was appointed and declared for Protector of this Infant Commonwealth (and it was a tedious Interval to him) the *Chancery* Court at *Weſtminſter-hall* being prepared for the Ceremony of the inſtalment in this manner, after the uſually ſeeking of God by the Officers of the Army.

The Protector about one of the Clock in the afternoon, came from *White-hall* to *Weſtminſter* to the *Chancery* Court, attended by the Lords Commiſſioners of the great Seal of *England*, Baron- of the *Exchequer*, and Judges in their Robes; after them, the Council of the Commonwealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns; then came the Protector attended with many of the chief Officers of the Army; a Chair of State being ſet in the ſaid Court of *Chancery*, the Protector ſtood on the left hand thereof uncovered, till a large Writing in parchment in the manner of an Oath, was read there being the power with which the Protector was inveſted and how the Protector is to govern the three Nations; which the Protector accepted of, and ſubſcribed in the face of the Court, and immediatly hereupon ſate down covered in the Chair; the Lords Commiſſioners then delivered up the Great Seal of *England* to the Protector, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of

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Maintenance, all which the Protector return'd immediately to them again. The Court then rose, and the Protector was attended back as aforesaid, to the Banquetting house at *Whitehal*, the Lord Mayor himself uncovered carrying the Sword before the Protector all the way; and coming into the Banquetting-house, an exhortation was made by Mr. *Lockyer*, after which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed.

The Instrument or Module, framed to be the Foundation of this present Government, was chiefly made up of the following heads.

*That the Suprem Legislative Authority be and reside in a single person, and the people in Parliament, the Execution of that Power to be in the Protector, with the advice of his Council, not to exceed Twenty and One, All proceedings to run in the Name and Style of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices and Titles to be derived from him that he may pardon all Offences but Treason and Murther. The Militia during the Parliament shall be in his and their hands, but in the Intervals only in his and his Council. He and his Council to make War and Peace with forreign Princes. Not make new Laws or abrogate old without Consent of Parliament. A Parliament to be called within six Months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent in Parliament, till after five Months. The Parliament of English to consist of* 400 *to be chosen by more equal distributions, in Counties and Boroughs of* Scotch 30 *and so many of the* Irish. *The Summoning the Parliament to pass under the Seal of the Commonwealth, to the Sheriffs; and if the Protector omit or deny that, then the Commissioners of the Seal, he held under pain of High Treason, to issue out such Writs; and in*

*in case of failure in him, the High Sheriffs; and some other By-blows concerning the equality and fairness of Elections, under great penalties. No Royalist, Irish Rebels or Papists to be capable of being Elected; and in case they be, to forfeit two years Revenue, and three parts of their goods, none to be Elected under the Age of 21 years, nor unless he be a man of Integrity, a lover of God, & of good conversation. None to have voices in Election but such as were worth 200 pounds. The Elections to be forthwith transmitted to the Council of State, by the Secretary of Commissioners, and in case of dispute to the Council of State. Sixty to make a Quorum. The Protector if need be to call Parliaments between the Intervals thereof. Bills offered to the Pro. if not assented to by him within forty daies, to pass into Laws not withstanding. The Protector with the advice of his Council, in case of death, or Breach of Trust to substitute new Privy Counsellors. A Competent Revenue to be setled for the maintenance of ten thousand Horse, and Fifteen thousand Foot, and the Navy not to be altered or lessened but by the advice of the Council, & upon the disbanding of them, the money to be brought to the Exchequer. No new Levies, nor Laws to be made without Consent in Parliament. All forfeited Lands unsold to belong to the Protector The Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal Family to be excluded.* Oliver Cromwel *to be the present Protector. All Places of Trust and Office to be in the Protectors disposal; if in Interval of Paliament, to be Approved and confirmed on Parliament. The rest; for the purity and toleration of Religion, out of which the Papist and Protestant were to be exempted, and all Laws in favour of them to be abrogated. All Sales of Parliament to be confirmed. Articles of War to be made good. And lastly, the Protector and his Successor to be bound by Oath to observe these present Articles*

*Articles, and to uphold the Peace and welfare of the Nation; which Oath was* in hæc verba.

*I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters & things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, & cause the same to be observed; & in all things to the best of my understanding, govern the Nations according to the Laws, Statuts, & Customs; to seek their peace, & cause Justice & Law to be equally administred.*

The Feat needed no more security, as good altogethr as its Authority, in this following Proclamation, which was published throughout *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland,* in these words.

*Whereas the late Parliament dissolved themselves, and resigning their powers and authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *in a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments is now established: And whereas* Oliver Cromwel *Capt. Gen. of all the Forces of this Commonwealth is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the premises, & strictly to charge and command all and every person or persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three Nations to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.*

This Miscellany of the laws, and new projections, suted a great many humours and different perswasions of the Phanaticks, Independents, Anabaptists, and others, being the second part of the Alchoran. And because there is occasion for it, we will discourse a little of the present State of Religion, and what

what opinion *Cromwel* beſt aſpected. The Orthodox Proteſtants were wholly ſuppreſt, and yet ſome Reverend perſons, as Dr. *Uſher* the Biſhop of *Armagh*, and Dr. *Brownrig* the Biſhop of *Exceter*, received ſome ſhews of reſpect and reverence from Him; which he more manifeſtly boaſted in the funeral Expences of the learned *Uſher*, and this to captate a Reputation of his love to Scholars, and the meek, modeſt and vertuous Clergy. The *Presbyterian* was rather tolerated than countenanced, and yet ſuch of them as would comply with his Court greatneſs, were much in his eye and his favour; for others of them he cared not, pleaſingly expreſſing himſelf how he had brought under the Pride and Arrogance of that Sect, making thoſe that would allow no liberty to others ſue for it for themſelves. The Independents and Anabaptiſts he loved and preferred by turns, and was moſt conſtant to them, as the men that would and did ſupport his Uſurpation: only he could by no means endure the Fifth Monarchy men, though by their dotages he had raiſed himſelf to this height; and therefore *Feak* and *Rogers*, were by Him committed to priſon in the Caſtle of *Windſor*, where they continued a long while, and not only ſo, but he ſet *Kiffin* the Anabaptiſt whom he had taken out of deſign into his favor, with his party, together by the ears with *Feaks*, to the raiſing of a Feud between them, the Ballance of his Security in the Government. The like he did betwixt the *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, a ſubdivided Schiſm from the Church of *England*, as *Feak*, and *Kiffins* were from Independency; whom when out of his zeal to the Unity of Chriſtian Religion, he ſeemed to bring together, to compoſe and accommodate all Differences;

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in the near probability of such expedients, he would divide and more irreconcileably sever and alienate. And this was all his practical devotion. But to return;

Great shooting of Guns at night, and Volleys of Acclamations, were given at the close of this mock solemnity by *Cromwel's* Janizaries; while the Cavaliers were more joyfully disposed at the Hopes of the Kings Affairs, but no body of any Account giving the Usurper a good word or *mukiditche* with his greatness, save what was uttered in Fur by my Lord Mayor, and the Complices in his Fact, who tickled his ears with the Eccho of the Proclamation done with the usual Formalities. These Triumphs so disgusted *Harrison*, (as also Col. *Rich*) that he withdrew himself from the Gang, and turned publique Preacher or railer against his Comrade *Oliver*; who was glad to be rid of such a busie impertinent Assistant in the moduling of Government: So *Cromwel* had now two Commonwealth-contradivided Factions against him, the old and new Parliaments, and therefore it nearly concerned him to make much of the Anabaptist and Sectary, which now succeed Independency, as the Religion maintained and favoured above all other: and *Kiffin* a great Leader and Teacher, was now in great request at the Court at *whitehall*, and contrarily Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. was look'd on askue, as also Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and *Bradshaw*, and *Scot*, and so the *Babel*-builders were confounded one amongst another.

The Council appointed by the Officers, or taken rather by himself, by whose advice he was to Govern, were 14 at first.

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| Lord *Lambert*. | General *Desbrow*. |
| Lord Viscount *Lisle*. | Sir *Gilbert Pickering*. |

Major General *Skippon*.
Sir *Anth. Aſhley Cooper*.
*Walter Strickland* Eſq;
Sir *Charles Wolſley*.
Col. *Philip Jone*.
*Francis Rouſe* Eſq;
*Richard Major* Eſq;
*John Lawrence* Eſq;
Col. *Edward Montague*.
Col. *William Sydenham*.

I ſhould have mentioned the *Dutch* War in its place, which aggrandized him with the uſual victorious ſucceſs; but becauſe he was never perſonally engaged in the Service, but owed this Garland, as he did the glory of *Dunbar*, to the noble General *Monck*, and wore but a ſecond-hand Triumphal Robe; I will not conſtellate him with that Hero's Splendor and Brightneſs of Fame.

That which properly concerns *Cromwel* is rather the Diſhonour of that War, the Peace that enſued the Concluſion of it; for the Stomach of that Nation had been ſo humbled by ſeveral great Loſſes, their Trade ſo ſpoiled, and their Subjects ſo impoveriſhed, that it was thought impoſſible for them to have equipped another Fleet, able to look our Navies in the Face; Withall there were ſo many Diſcontents and Diviſions in that popular State that they were ready to ruine themſelves without any of our help; yet did this puny and unfledged Prince come to a Treaty and Agreement with them, upon moſt mean and inconſiderable Terms, when it had been no queſtion but another Rub at Sea, or beleaguring their Ports, would have brought them down to the humble Complement of Our faithful Tributaries; which of how great advantage it might have been to the Trade, and conſequently the greatneſs of this Kingdome, I take not upon me to determine.

His next Affair was a Concluſion of a League with the

the Queen of *Sweden*, which he transmitted by the Embassy of the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*; who being commissioned at his Departure by the foolish Parliament, was invested with new Credentials from *Cromwel*, whom accordingly he owned as his most serene Highness his Master.

*Cromwel* next supplied the Benches of the Court at *Westminster*, with the ablest of the Lawyers, whom he had invited to the publique service, and Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Nudigate*, *Hugh windham* were made Serjeants, and Mr. *Hales* one of the Justices of the *Common-pleas*, where St. *Johns* yet sate, and of the Cabinet to his Protector besides; having preferred his Man *Thurloe* (his Secretary at the *Hague*) to be his Secretary of State, the Candle or Light of that Dark Lanthorn, which St. *Johns* was said to be in these mysterious times of *Cromwel*, in all his attempts and designs of consequence and Moment.

The *Dutch* Peace was also concluded on by the Ambassadors and Commissioners of the said Council for the Protector; between whom this private Article was agreed, that the Prince of *Orange*, should never be restored to the Dignities, Offices, and Charge his Ancestors held and enjoyed: and this was urged for the better conservation of the Peace which would in his Restitution be endangered, because of his Relation to the King.

The Protector dined in great State upon an Invitation from the Lord Mayor, *&c.* at *Grocers-Hall* the 8. of *February* being *Ashwednesday*, a very unsuitable day for any Festival but his Entertainment, who inverted all things, the Streets being raised from *Temple-Bar* thither, the Liveries in their Gowns in their gradual standings awaiting him; he was met at the

ſaid Gate by Alderman *Vyner* the Lord Mayor, who delivered him the Sword there, and having received it from him back again, b re it one Horſeback bareheaded before him all the way, through which the ſame ſilence was kept, as if a Funeral had been *en paſſant*; and no doubt it was that muteneſs which *Tacitus* mentioned in *Tiberius*, *quale magnæ Iræ vel magni metûs eſt ſilentium*, no apprecations or ſo much as a *How do ye?* being given during the Cavalcade. After Dinner he was ſerved with a Banquet, in the concluſion whereof he Knighted Alderman *Vyner*, and would have done the ſame to the Recorder *Steel*, for his learned Speech of Government, calculated and meaſured for him; but he for good Reaſons avoided it; My Lord Mayor was forced to carry it home, and anger his Wife with it, who had real *Honour* both in her Name and Nature. *Oliver* at his return had the ſecond courſe of a brick-bat, from the top of a houſe in the *Strand* by St. *Clements*, which light upon his Coach and almoſt ſpoiled his Digeſtion with the daringneſs of the affront, ſearch was made but in vain, the perſon could not be found, and it could not be thought to be vengeance from above; which as yet was not ready to rain upon him.

He publiſhed a little after an Ordinance for the Trial and Approbation of Miniſters, wherein *Philip Nye*, *Goodwyn*, *Hugh Peters*, M *Manton*, and others, were named Commiſſioners: the queſtion theſe men put to the Examinants, was not of Abilities or Learning, but grace in their hearts, and that with ſo bold and ſaucy Inquiſition, that ſome men trembled at their Interrogatories, they phraſing it ſo, as if (as was ſaid of the Council of *Trent*) they had the Holy Ghoſt in a Cloak-bag, or were rather *Simon Magus*

*gus* his own Diſciples; and certainly there were never ſuch *Simoniacks* in the World, not a living of value, but what a Friend or the beſt purchaſer was admitted into, to which humane learning even where a former right was, was a good and ſufficient bar; no leſs to the ruin than ſcandal of the Church of *England*, and the Proteſtant Religion and Profeſſors thereof: ſeveral ignorant bold Laicks being inducted into the beſt Spiritualities, as beſt conſiſted with *Oliver*'s Intereſt, which depended upon the Sectary, and their hideous diviſions in Religion.

The Foraign Affairs which he now moſt aſpected, were the two Neighbouring potent Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, with one whereof he muſt of neceſſity quarrel, and ſo ſpend the ill blood, and convey away thoſe humours which were ſo redundant in the old Souldiery, both of the Kings and *Eſſex*'s Army, and if not employed in ſome foraign War, would create him trouble at home; this the *French* Cardinal, newly reſtored to the adminiſtration of that Monarchy, timely foreſaw, and therefore a Treaty was privately and induſtriouſly carried on here by Monſieur *Bourdeaux Neufville*, to an amicable Aſſociation and League againſt the *Spaniard*. *Cromwel*'s Covetouſneſs and Thirſt of Gold prevailing againſt his Intereſt and Ambition and Thirſt of Malice and Miſchief againſt the Royal Family, which was as yet ſhaded under the *French Fleurs de Lyzes*, whereby all Perſons expected an Invaſion from hence of that Kingdom, that if it were poſſible for his Treaſon, he might drive it out of the world.

But *Mazarine*'s Golden expedient and temporary Medium, of ſhifting the King and his Relations out of the Kingdom, by virtue of the ſaid League,

wholly swayed and inclined him to a War against *Spain*, which not long after was commenced: The greater Invitation thereto being three ships pretended *Hamburgers*, but laden with the King of *Spain*'s pieces of Eight, whether for his Account or no uncertain, that had been newly stayed and seized by the Court of Admiralty, at the prosecution of one *Violet a Goldsmith*: and notwithstanding the *Spanish* Ambassador, *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, protested and strugled against it, were carried to the *Tower*, and there minted to the Sum of 400000 *Sterl.* This, and other Moneys in the *Exchequer*, gave the greater courage to his Ambition, and his raw and unsetled Usurpation. He had also now accepted satisfaction from the King of *Portugal*, and was entred into League and Friendship with him.

How many are the troubles, cares, and miseries of Tyrant greatness? No sooner is one design, one passion gratified and accomplished, but another disquiet and danger invades or perplexes him. No sooner had he sacrificed to his Covetousness, but now he must offer Victims to his Cruelty, the next Assurance of his hated Throne. There is in the Labyrinth of Vice, as in the orderly Frame of Arts and Sciences, a Circle, a Κυκλοπορεία, a Spherical Motion from one evil to another, till the last terminates at the beginning, their qualities and quantities being only altered, augmented, or diminished by Time or other circumstances.

From the deep Design of foraign *Mines*, He next converted his thoughts upon a Home-spun Plot. A horrible practice of Machiavilian Policy, and Art of Empire, with which even just Scepters have been polluted, and stained by some inhumane Ministers of

of State, upon pretences of preventing danger ( who ſtand chargeable even with the Loyal blood this Leech ſuckt from their Conduits ) to entrap and engage innocent perſons ( upon Suſpicion of others of the ſame party, who are obnoxious to the Government ) in Machinations and Conſpiracies of their own forming and contrivance, and by their Emiſſaries betray and condemn them. This was the firſt bloody remarque of *Cromwel*'s Princing, managed by his Secretary *Thurloe*, who drew in Colonel *John Gerard* and Mr. *Vowel* two eminent Royaliſts into his ſnare of a pretended conſpiring the Death of *Oliver*, with others who confeſt the Intention; for which theſe two were both condemned by a High Court of Juſtice, ( *Cromwel* not daring to truſt the Laws or a Jury, the Birthright of *Engliſhmen*, no more than did the former *Junto* of Regicides) and the firſt beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, and the other hanged at *Charing-Croſs*; the Colonel declaring, That he was ſo far from having hand or heart in it, or any encouragement from the King (as was falſly ſuggeſted) that he feared he ſhould not die right in his favour, as being but ſuſpected of that ( though ſo juſt ) Aſſaſſinate: it being below His Majeſties Honour and Religion. Mr. *Vowel* referred his Cauſe, and his unjuſt Judges, and the Tyrant to Heavens Tribunal.

This was the Rozin, there wanted now the Conſent of the People in Parliament, to fiddle and tune his Inſtrument. He reſolved therefore to call one forthwith; for the Nation began to murmur at him (and ſome openly to refuſe obedience) and to forget the pleaſing acquieſcence in the change he had made, ſince they ſaw he made it only for himſelf. The Nine dayes wonder was over, and they had recovered them-

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Having now plotted and ſecured the Elections of as many Sectaries and of his party to the enſuing Parliament, as his young Intereſt could procure him; in the Month of *July*, to recreate himſelf and his Familiar *Thurloe*, with ſome Robuſt and jogging Exerciſe, to void the Gravel with which he was much troubled, He would needs ſhew his skill in driving a Coach with ſix great *German* Horſes, ſent him as a preſent by the Count of *Oldenburgh*, in *Hide-Park*; but thoſe generous Horſes no ſooner heard the Lath of the Whip, but away they ran with *Thurloe* ſitting trembling in it, for fear of his own Neck over Hill and Dale, and at laſt threw down their unexpert Governour from the Box, into the Traces, and there had likely to have trod and drawn him to pieces; but Vengeance was yet again pleaſed to reſpite him and put him over to a like judicial Execution, (after his *immature* Death) in 1660. Of this ominous chance many ingenious Songs were made, and one called the Jolt by Sir *John Berkenhead*, which being in Print in a Hiſtory (and in the *Rump*-Songs) though the Author miſtaken, is purpoſely forborn.

The Elections were made one and the ſame day throughout *England*; moſt of the Boroughs had but one Burgeſs, and the Shires ſome of them 6 or 7 Knights, all of them under ſure qualifications, of not having been or being of the Cavalier party; there were 30 alſo by the Inſtrument Elected for *Scotland*, and as many for *Ireland*; all or moſt of whom

whom were *Engliſh* Commanders. On the 3 of *September*, they met, and adjourned from the Houſe to the Abbey, where Mr. *Marſhal* preached, and ſo to the *Painted Chamber*, where they had a Meſſage from the Protector to invite them to a Sermon the next day again, when Doctor *Goodwin* preached and the Protector came in great State in his Coach, *Cleypole* Maſter of the Horſe, and *Strickland* the Captain of his Guard, bareheaded on both ſides; at his entrance into the Church, *Lambert* carried the Sword before him, and *Whitlock* the Purſe; the Sermon done, to the *Painted Chamber* again, and there in a Speech he ſet forth theſe Heads.

*That ſome few years ago, none would have thought of ſuch a Dore of Hope; that he knew there were yet many Humours and Intereſts, and that Humours were above Intereſt, that the condition of* England *was like* Iſrael *in the Wilderneſs (of which the Sermon was) that this was a Healing day, there was neither Noble-man, nor Gentleman, nor Yeoman before known by any diſtinction, we had not any that bore rule and Authority, but a great contempt of Magiſtracy and Chriſts Ordinances; that the Fifth Monarchy was highly cried up by perſons who would aſſume the Government, but that deſired Reign wanted greater Manifeſtation, than appeared for ſuch men to change the Authority by* (and this directed at the little Parliament.) *He deſired this Honourable Aſſembly to remedy all theſe Diſorders, ſhewed that the* Portugal, French *and* Dutch *differences do, and did eat up the Aſſeſſments, that ſwarms of Jeſuits were crept in to make diviſions, which were grown ſo wide that nothing but his Government could*

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*remedy them, and let men ſay what they will, he could ſpeak it with comfort before a greater than any of them. Then he ſhewed what he had done during his Government; Firſt, his endeavour of reforming the Laws, having joyned all Parties to aſſiſt in that great work; next, his filling the Benches with the ableſt Lawyers; then his regulation of the Court of* Chancery, *and then his Darling Ordinance for approbation of Miniſters (which hindred all that Liſt from invading the Miniſtry) by men of both perſwaſions, Presbyterians and Independents,* &c. *And laſtly, his being* Inſtrumental *to call a Free Parliament, which he valued and would keep it ſo above his life.*

*Then he ſhewed the advantages of the Peace, with the* Dutch, Dane, *and* Swede, *and the Proteſtant Intereſt, which he would have them improve and intend chiefly; that they were now upon the edge of* Canaan; *that he ſpoke not as their Lord, but their Fellow ſervant: and then bid them go and chuſe their Speaker.* Which they did without preſenting of him, his Name *William Lenthal*, the old Chairman; and next day fell upon the Inſtrument, as they had Voted, by parts as it lay, and queſtioned the power; which *Oliver* underſtanding, to put them out of that courſe which touched his Coppy-hold, after 9 dayes he came to the *Painted Chamber*, and ſending for them, declared and aſſerted four Fundamentals in the Inſtrument, which they were not to meddle with or to alter. 1. *The Government by a ſingle perſon and Parliament.* 2. *The Imperpetuity of Parliaments, or no continued ſucceſſion of them.* 3. *The Militia, which was his only. And* 4. *Liberty of conſcience; telling them a Free Parliament was but a term*

*term of Reciprocation, for that power which made him Protector, made them a Parliament, and therefore was very sorry they should go about to destroy the* Settlement, *which to prevent, and cease such Debates (though he denied any negative voice) he was necessitated to appoint a Tast or Recognition of the Government as it was established (by every Member) before they sate again.*

This bogled at first three quarters of them, especially the Commonwealth-men, and those of the late Long Parliament, so that of four hundred and odd there appeared but two hundred, but were made up at last three hundred; for the old ones would not be baulked so, and fell afresh upon the same disputes and ran out the Articles, resolving to put the whole judgment of the House upon them, into one entire Bill, and so present it, but in truth to spin out time, and work upon the Protectors occasions for money, which was proposed in the House, and coldly and slowly considered.

Just at their sitting down, the Protector published several Ordinances, which being passed and bore date before, were to pass as authentique as Acts by the Instrument; one for paying the money into the Treasury, that was raised for the propagation of the Gospel in *Wales*, another for making Souldiers free of all Corporations, and to exercise any Trades; Another to turn out all honest men under the notion of scandalous Preachers and Ministers, Common-Prayer being their chiefest Imputation; and a fourth to survey Kings Lands, *&c.* and for doubling upon Deans and Chapters, which sales those many changes of power had much retarded and depretiated. The more occult cause of the publication of these Ordinances, was to let the Parliament under-

ſtand, that *Oliver* took his *Inſtrument* to be in a good *caſe*, and ſufficiently warranted already.

In this Convention *Lambert* laboured Tooth and Nail to have the Inſtrument confirmed, for by that the Protectorate was left undermined and Elective, threatning them that if this Parliament would not, they would call four or five Parliaments one after another till it was Enacted: (the ſame Art of menacing which *Oliver* uſed to the proceeding Juncto) but that not prevailing (the Parliament diſſolved) by his Intereſt in the Army, He procured Addreſſes both from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as well as here, declaring their Reſolution to ſtand by this Government in defence of the Protectors Life and Dignity againſt all Oppoſition; which in this Stratocracy was to be as good a Security as Parliamentary Aſſent. There were ſome Superiour Officers, as Lieut. Col. Majors, and Captains, who were yet for a Commonwealth, who had private Meetings, and contrived the ſeizing this Rebel, and deliver him to the Juſtice of the Parliament: but by *Pride's* Diſcovery, who was made privy to this buſineſs, they were prevented, and their Commiſſions only taken away; *Cromwel* not willing by ſeverer puniſhments to make a noiſe that there was ſuch a potent Faction in the Army.

*Lambert* was very officious in this matter, as neither *reſenting* the late affront put upon him by *Cromwel* (when he advanced *Fleetwood* in his place to the Supreme Command in *Ireland*, though with leſſer Title than he arrogated, who made magnificent preparation for this Inveſtiture in the Lieutenantſhip, and would ſuffer no Diminution of that Honor) nor *ſenting* his future deſigns and cheats, as to his promiſed

promiſed Succeſſion to the Soveraignty here.

During thoſe Protectoral Intregues, the King's Intereſt had got ſuch footing again in *England*, that all, or moſt of the Gentlemen and Counties thereof, were engaged for it, and therefore while *Lambert* managed one Province, (the Affairs of the Parliament) wherein *Oliver* would not deſcend ſo low, as to be pragmatical, and ſceptically buſie with their Debates againſt His power, as wreſted and uſurped from the people; He was mainly intent upon the proceedings of the Royallists, the particulars whereof he had betrayed to him weekly, a conſtant correſpondence being held betwixt him and one *Manning* a Retainer, and Under-Secretary to the King at *Colen*, his Father being killed in his Service at *Alresford* in the year 1644.

The price of this Treaſon was no leſs than 6000. *l.* a year, moſt whereof came to the King by this fellows Hands, as ſent over by his and his Friends procurement, but on purpoſe by ſo notable a ſervice in the Kings neceſſities, to ſcrue himſelf into the ſecrets of His Majeſties deſigns.

Hence came the weſtern Aſſociation and Attempt of the Noble *Penruddock* in the Weſt, to be ſo ſuddenly defeated, with the like Inſurrections in ſeveral parts of *England* in the year 1654. For upon certain notice of the daies appointed for their Riſing, *Cromwel* to be before hand with them gave out ſuppoſed and falſe daies, and made the like Appearances, particularly at *Shrewsbury*; by which means the confederates came to conceive there was ſome Treachery among themſelves, and did then wiſely deſiſt from the danger of taking publique Arms againſt him; For a fuller accompt of all which, I muſt refer

fer the Reader to the Hiſtories of the Times lately publiſhed, though I ſhould take notice of his Cruelty againſt thoſe unfortunate Gentlemen.

The Event of this, by which he had over-reached the King in his own Deſigns, and the Hopes of his rich ſucceſſes in the *Weſt-Indies* (by robbing another Prince) whither his Fleet and Army under General *Pen* and *Venables* was now arrived, which alſo I ſhall only mention, for the Story is trite and vulgar) made *Oliver* moſt blith and confident, and his Court of Beggers, and ſuch like mean people, very gay and jocund: A great deal of State was now uſed towards him, and the *French* Cringe, and other ceremonious pieces of gallantry and good deportment, which were thought unchriſtian and ſavouring of Carnality, introduced in place of auſtere and down looks, and the ſilent Mummery of ſtarched and Hypocritical gravity, the only becoming Dreſs (forſooth) of Piety and Religion. He had now a Guard of Halberdiers in gray Coats, welted with black Velvet; over whom *walter Strickland* was Captain; and a Lord Chamberlain Sir *Gilbert Pickering*; Two Maſters of requeſts, Mr. *Bacon* and Mr. *Sadler*; a Maſter of his Horſe, his Son *Claypoole*; and generally all Officers of Honour both to his own perſon, and his Wives; who very frugally Huſwifed it, and would nicely and finically tax the expenſive unthriftineſs (as ſaid ſhe) of the *Other Woman* who lived there before her. But I muſt not engage here in her impertinencies, though a many pretty ſtories ſhall happily be told of this obſolete *Princeſs*.

It will be requiſite to ſpeak ſomething of this manner and courſe of Life, now raiſed to a very neer fruition of the Soveraignty, this being the Solſtice of

of his Fortunes. His Custome was now to divert himself frequently at *Hampton-Court*, (which he had saved from Sale, with other Houses of the Kings for his own Greatness) whither he went and came in post with his Guards behind and before, as not yet secure of his Life from the justice of some avenging hand; Here he used to hunt, and at the fall of a Deer, where he would be sure to be present, embrue his hands in the blood of it, and therewith asperse and sprinkle the Attendants: and sometimes to cokes the neighbouring Rusticks, give them a Buck he had hunted, and money to drink with it; His own Diet was very spare and not so curious, except in publick Treatments, which were constantly given every Monday in the Week, to all the Officers of the Army not below a Captain, where he dined with them, and shewed a hundred Antick Tricks, as throwing of Cushions, and putting live Coals into their Pockets and Boots: a Table being likewise spread every day of the week for such Officers as should casually come to Court: and this was his greatest Expence, which and other charges of the Government, he levied as yet by his and his Councils Ordinances, as duly and respectfully obeyed as Acts of Parliament.

With these Officers while he seemed to disport himself, taking of his Drink freely; and opening himself every way to the most free familiarity, He did meerly lye at the Catch of what should incogitantly and with such unsuspected provocation fall from their Mouths; which he would be sure to record and lay up against his occasion of reducing them to the Speakers memory, who were never like to forget the prejudice and damage they had incurred

red by such loose Discoveries of their Minds and Inclinations.

He was a great Lover of Musick, and entertained the most skilful in that Science in his pay and Family; in that like wicked *Saul*, who when the evil Spirit was upon him, thought to lay and still him with those Harmonious charms: but generally he respected or at least pretended a Love to all ingenious and eximious persons in any Arts, whom he procured to be sent or brought to him: but the niggardliness and incompetence of his reward, shewed that this man was a personated Act of Greatness, and that private *Cromwel* yet governed Prince *Oliver*. Amongst the rest of those *Virtuosi*, He favoured a Poet too, who very elegantly sang his *Marston-Moor Emulator*, but with more misfortune than others, who made the Muses slaves to his Triumphs, and *Pegasus* to draw his Chariot.

He had twenty other freaks in his head, for sometimes before he had half dined, he would give order for a Drum to beat, and call in his Foot Guards, like a Kennel of Hounds, to snatch off the meat from his Table, and tear it in pieces: the like Jocu's and Frisks he would have with other Company; even with some few of the Nobility, when he would not stick to tell them what Company they had lately kept; when and were they had drunk the Kings health and the Royal Families, bidding them when they did it again, to do it more privately, and this without any passion, and as festivous Drol discourse.

But upon the news of the Defeat at *Hispaniola*, whence he had promised himself Mountaines of Gold, and Rocks of Gems, to the maintenance of his Mamalukes, and perpetuating the Army, and the

the Royaliſts breeding new Deſigns; he began to caſt off the Merry Devil and act the Tyrant altogether, and not without Cauſe. For

The effects of this Parliament rupture encouraged two moſt oppoſite parties to conſpire againſt this Protector, the Monarchiſts and Cavaliers (as we muſt ſo diſtinguiſh the Royal party upon this difference,) who longed for their rightful Soveraign *Charles* the ſecond, the Fifth Monarchy expected King *Jeſus*, the Courtiers and thoſe engaged by them or with them, with *Cromwel* himſelf, deſired King *Oliver*; and every one of theſe manifeſted much Impatience, but none of them could attain their Wiſhes, and when *Oliver* might afterwards, he durſt not. The Protector was no way ignorant of this, and therefore he reſolved to deal with the weakeſt firſt, which yet by underminings was more dangerous than the other: The Army was corrupted by that Millenary Principle, and that was to be purged; ſo that as *Harriſon* and *Rich* had bin laid aſide, and not long after committed with *Carew* and *Courtney* into ſeveral remote Caſtles; ſo now Gen. *Monck* had order to ſeize Major General *Overton*, and the Majors *Bramſton* and *Holms*, and other Officers, and Caſhier them, after Fines and good ſecurity for their Behaviour; *Overton* was ſent up to the Tower, and his Regiment conferred on Col. *Morgan*; Colonel *Okey's* Regiment taken from him, and given to a ſure Confider, and ſo the danger from the Army was quickly ſuppreſt: Cornet but now Col. *Joyce*, was likewiſe male-content at this Change, and ſignified ſo much to *Cromwel's* Face, whom he upbraided with his own Service and Faithfulneſs, but eſcaped any other Cenſure than a bidding him begone; *Cromwel*

knowing him to be one of those mad men that would say or do any thing they were bid.

Now happ'ned an occasion, or rather *Cromwel* made it one, for him to shew his zeal to the Protestant Cause, and Publish himself to the World the Champion or Hector thereof; this was also one secret step and reach to the Crown, by invading the *Sacred Title* of the *Defender* of the *Faith*, due only to the Hereditary Sovereigns of *England*; Herein also he aimed as in the Proverb, *to hit two Birds with one Stone*, not doubting but to find another Mine in the charitable minds and compassion of this Nation towards the parallel sufferings of the old *Waldenses* in *Piedmont* to the Irish Massacres, which were set out and dress't here with greater Skill of Butchery, than the Actors could handsomly do it there, and it was said the Copy was drawn from that Original.

Alderman *Vyner* and *Pack* were made Treasurers for this money, which amounted to a very large sum and reached the full design of the Protector; a small parcel whereof was now remitted to *Geneva*, the French King having newly before accommodated the business, the Duke refusing to admit *Cromwel's* Mediation.

There was another Artifice of the Protectors to set this business forward, and to countenance it: which was, Addresses from the Army here and abroad, offering their Service in this common cause of the Protestant Religion, no way doubting but that God in his due time would confound those Enemies of his People, as he had shewn his salvation by themselves, in the same Controversie to that day.

A

A new Plot was now ſtarted, and moſt of the Nobility and Gentlemen of *England* ſecured; Sir *Geoffry Palmer*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord *Lovelace*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Newport*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Lords *Maynard*, *Petre*, *Lucas*, and *Faulkland*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, &c. and this done by *Manning*, whoſe Villany was not yet diſcovered, though to render a due Account of him, his Treachery was before related. County Troops were alſo now eſtabliſhed for ſecurity of his Highneſs, ſuch Trooper 8*l.* a year pay and more in caſe of Service, a Captain a 100 *l.* and Officers proportionably; and as theſe new Forces were raiſed here, ſo were other old ones disbanded in *Scotland* and *Ireland*; in which laſt place the disbanded were yet to be the ſame kind of *Militia*, they being ſetled in the Rebel forfeited Lands, their Tenure being their Service, and thus that Kingdome was re-peopled. An Agent that had come hither from *Ragotzi* Prince of *Tranſylvania*, now departed, the Conſpiracy betwixt whom and the King of *Sweden*, and the *Swede* and *Cromwel* was juſt ripe for execution.

The *Spaniſh* War therefore commencing, the Protector began new Practices againſt the Cavalier party, whoſe intereſt and ſpirit was againſt his Government as high as ever: he foreſaw that by the *French* peace, the King only ſhifted and changed war from one quarter to another, and was yet as neer as before, and in a more opportune and advantageous poſture; for that the King of *Spain* and he would certainly concur againſt him, and ſo the Low Countries, his Provinces and Ports, be open and at the Service of our Soveraign; therefore his party was by all waies, how unjuſt and tyrannical ſoever to be

cruſh'd and ſuppreſt: it began with the Clergy who were neither to keep School, nor cure, nor be Chaplains, except they gave ſignal Teſtimony of their Apoſtacy from the Church; it next extended to all ſorts of men, by the revived Act of 1652. forbidding all Cavaliers or ſuch as meant well to the peace of the Kingdome in their ſubſcription to the perſonal Treary in 1948. by a new Proclamation to that purpoſe, from giving Voyces of Electing, or to be Elected themſelves upon their utmoſt peril: then came out a Declaration for Decimating ſuch who were actually in Arms: and to ſhew the Reaſons of ſuch proceedings againſt them, *Cromwel* therein taking it for granted; that the whole Maſs of them were engaged in the late deſign of *Penruddocks*, and obſerving to march their Relations but within themſelves, and ſo to propagate the quarrel from one Generation to another; that they ſupplyed their King (as they call'd him) with money; that their Clergy were as refractory as ever; and that therefore ſince by them the peace ſo endangered could not be kept, nor the cauſe and well affected ſecured but by keeping up a ſtanding Army by a conſtant pay, it was requiſite the charge ſhould be born by thoſe who cauſed it.

For the better diſpatch of this Affair, he had erected a new military Authority, like the *Turkiſh Baſhaws*, diſtributed into ſeveral Provinces or Counties, with an unbounded power, *England* being now cantoned into this *Hendecarchy*. viz. *Kent* and *Surrey* under Col. *Kelſey*; *Suſſex*, *Hantſhire*, and *Berkſhire* under *Goff*; *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wilts*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, under Col. *Desborough*; *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, *Cawbridg*,

*bridge*, *isle of Ely*, *Essex*. *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, under Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; *London*, Major General *Skippon*; *Lincolnshire*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Warwick* and *Leicester* under *Whalley*; *Northamptonshire*, *Bedford*, *Rutland* and *Huntingdon* under villanous *Butler*; *worcestershire*, *Hereford*, *Shropshire*, and *North-wales* under Coll. *Berry*, *Cheshire*, *Lancashire* and *Stafford* under Co. *Worseley*; *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *westmorland*, under Lord *Lambert*; *Westminster* and *Middlesex*, under Col. *Berksted*: their Commission was to take a Roll and Account of all suspected persons of the Kings party, and such as were actually so to receive security of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing against the Government, and to reveal all Plots that should come to their knowledge; they were to suppress all Horse-Races, Cock-matches, and other concourses of people, to secure the High ways, to take engagement from Cavaliers for their Servants and Children, and those that did not so, nor give security, to commit to prison, and to rate and receive the mony rising from this Decimation. In short there was nothing which they might not do, nor which they did not; such an Arbitrary vast power they had from the Protector. To this purpose a M. G. Office was erected in *Fleetstreet*, as other Courts had, where these Recognizances were entred, and all other the like Affairs, dependencies, and concerns thereof entred and recorded; by this means the Tyrant intended to inform himself of the value and quality of every estate and person, together with the number of that party in every County throughout the Kingdome. Most of those Loyal persons formerly secured were hereup-

on ſet at liberty, but by another 20 Mile Proclamation driven into the Country, into the bounds of the ſeveral Major Generals, who preſently took cognizance of them, and ſummoned them to their reſpective Reſidences: they ſate ſometimes without, other times with ſome of the old Committees, where they received accounts of Eſtates, which were raited to the tenth penny yearly. Some bought off that Tax and incumbrance by a preſent Sum; at three years purchaſe, which was very acceptable; for money was the thing the Uſurper wanted: others looked for a neerer Redemption, and to be conſtrained to that payment; the well affected and godly people voiced this to be a juſt and reaſonable impoſition; for when ſhould they be at quiet, and enjoy themſelves in the goods they had got, free from the interrupting endeavour of this old and reſtleſs Enemy? ſo that there wanted not Abettors and Aſſiſtants to this moſt religious work of the Major Generals; who had ordered in the firſt place, that no Cavalier ſhould keep or wear either arms offenſive or defenſive; but ſtreightwayes deliver them, ſo that they lay at the mercy of whomſoever they met, and at the Diſcretion and charity of whomſoever reſorted to their Houſes, for what they had left.

The Barbarous Cruelty and Severity of theſe *Baſhawes*, to the Orthodox Clergy, while with the *Hotneſs* of the perſecution it ſuffocated the true Religion, did warm and foſter the viperous brood of Sects and Hereſies into monſtrous luxuriances; For beſides the Ranter, who at this time began to infeſt the Church, and mukiply exceedingly, and the *Socinian*, who denied the Divinity of *Chriſt*; one *Biddle* being infamous for thoſe impious opinions,

as

as *Erbury* formerly a Minister for *Ranting*; the *Quakers* appeared like *Locusts*, and overspread the whole Kingdom, even to the Disquiet of *Oliver* himself, who could not endure to hear of their Anti-Magisterial principles, the Schisme consisting chiefly of such as had been of the Army or rebel Faction. The Heighth of that Phrenzy and Delusion so possessed the haughty mind of one *James Naylor* (as if Pride and Ambition were the raigning secular sins) that he fancied himself to be our Saviour, procuring such Worship to be done him, as was due only to that blessed Divinity. This blasphemous Impostor was severely punished by the consent of *Oliver* (who perceived *Lambert*, whose Souldier this was formerly, to stickle for him on design to cajole his party:) But not from any sense of this Impiety, and zeal to Christ or his Worship; for he had lately struck a Bargain with the *Jews* that *deny* him, but the Ministers who were to dispute with *Ben Israel* their Agent contrary to command dissenting from his covetous project, He only gulled them of their earnest mony.

By this mixture of subtlety with Cruelty and Rapine of all sorts, he had so establish'd himself, and his formidable greatness (engaging in a foraign war with the *French* against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, whither he sent Commissary General *Reynolds* with 6000 men, who joyntly took in St. *Venant* and *Mardike* in the close of the Summer 1657. the latter being put into *English* hands) that the Royal party began truly to dread his mischievous power; the effects whereof were felt also in very remote parts of the World, in the *Polish* and *Danish* War, by his partaking with and assisting the King of *Sweden* (when he pretended a Mediation between them,

having dispatch'd Mr. *Rolt* of his Bedchamber, and Col. *Jephson* to *Carolus Gustavus*, and Mr. now Sir *Philip Meadows*, to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*,) to the diverting the *German* Emperour to the care of his own Dominions, and by that means depriving the *Spaniard* of his aid, and consequently frustrating all his Majesties designs of recovering, his rights to these Kingdoms.

I must omit his Successes by *Blake* at *Porta Ferina*, and *Santta Cruz*, for which the *English* valour was famous; as also Sir *Richard Stayners* taking and spoiling 7. Galleys from the *West-Indies*, laden with plate, which were substantial Trophies, and made his power terribly renowned.

And therefore now he thought it time to shew his Son *Richard* to the World, whom to avoid the Suspicion of designing the Soveraignty to be Hereditary in his Family, and to amuse *Lambert* who would not brook other Successor than himself. His Rival if not Superiour now in the affection of the Army, he had kept in the Country, in *Hampshire* (where he had married the Daughter of one *Major* of *Southampton*, with a very plentiful fortune, the support and maintenance of him now) among the Converse of the Gentry Royallists to insinuate into their affection and good liking by some kind of Offices and Civilities he procured from Court, and by his own debonair and affable Disposition: The first publique Honour done him was the Chancellorship of *Oxford*, in which he was solemnly invested after his Father had purposely resigned it at *Whitehall*, next he was sworn a Privy Councellor, and made a Colonel in the Army, to have an Interest in all Parties and parts of the Body Politique, and

and not long after in the next Parliament, after their receſſe, the firſt Lord of the other Houſe, and now ſtyled the moſt Noble Lord *Richard*, and riſe diſcourſes there were of *Richard* the Fourth, but they proved no more than the ſtory of Queen Dick.

His Son *Harry Cromwel*, lately married to Sir *William Ruſſels* Daughter, he likewiſe ſent in the quality of Lord Lieutenant, to ſucceed his Son in Law *Fleetwood*, in *Ireland*: only *Scotland* could not be taken from General *Monck*, and diſpoſed in the hands of his more confident Relations, *Fleetwood* or *Desborough* being deſigned for that Government. His Daughters likewiſe were all married, *Elizabeth* his Darling, before his late Greatneſſe, to a private Gentleman, one Mr *Cleypole* of *Warwickſhire*; his Daughter *Mary* to the Lord Viſcount *Fauconberg*, of the noble Family of the *Bellaſis*, and his younger Daughter *Frances* to Mr. *Robert Rich*, eldeſt Son to *Robert* Lord *Rich*, and Grandſon to *Rob.* Earl of *Warwick*: all three of which *Rich*'s dyed within one year after this unfortunate and unglorious Match. So that he thought he had eſtabliſhed his houſe: but the Foundation being laid in *ſand* tempered with Blood, the next guſt and boiſterous Wind blew it like Chaff and ſcattered and diſperſed it to nothing.

From this haughty confidence he was invited to call another Parliament, and to aſſume from thence the long awaited reſult of his Ambition, the Crown Imperial of *England*. All other things moreover did ſeem to conſpire to the ſame purpoſe, except the levelling Fifth Monarchy Party, and *Lambert*: for the Presbyterian and other Sectaries, who had their hands full of Sacrilegious and Treaſonable Penny-worths of Eccleſiaſtical and Crown and Delinquents

linquents Lands, were moſt eagerly deſirous of a ſettlement of the Government by Law, that might ſecure and confirm their purchaſes; the more indifferent Royaliſts preferred any Legal (no manner how or what) Authority, rather then be continually tasked and oppreſſed by the outragious unlimited violence of the Major Generals, whom *Cromwel* had on purpoſe ſet up, as he did the Little or Fooliſh Parliament, to make another Title he gaped at, more acceptable to the People.

As to the Fifth Monarchy men, he had meerly pried into that danger, and ſeized and took the chief of that Party, among whom was *Venner* the *Wine-Cooper*, being engaged ſomewhat after in a Plot, in a houſe in *Shoreditch*, where ſome Arms were taken, and an Enſign with a *Lyon couchant* of the Tribe of *Judah* painted in it, having this Motto, *who ſhall rouze him up?*

And hereupon *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Rich*, Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, *Courtney*, *Portman*, *Day*, and the like, were impriſoned in remote places, as Col. *Overton*, Major *Holms*, and other of the ſame party, had been ſeized as before in *Scotland*, and caſhired by General *Monck*, according to *Cromwel*'s Order, and ſent up Priſoners to the *Tower* of *London*.

As to the *Levellers*, he had lately diſcovered their practices and combinations againſt him, and had likewiſe clapt up the chief of them; one Major *Wildman* in order to his Tryal being taken at *Marleborough*, inditing and drawing Declarations againſt him; ſo that they were at a ſtand and a loſſe which way to proceed, to the unſetling and over-throw of his Tyrannical power procured by ſo many tricks and cheats put upon them by him; ſo that afterwards

wards when they began private Subscriptions to Petitions, and Addresses to the Parliament against the Kingship, he peremptorily upon their peril forbad them to intermeddle with their Consultations, and so awed and dashed them, that they never offered any more afterwards, to hold up so much as a Finger against him. *Lambert* was the only impediment, and we shall see him neatly and quietly removed and discarded like the rest of his former Confidents.

This *Olivarian* Parliament brought together by these means was not less awed in its Election by the Major Generals (they themselves and all their friends being returned for Members, while the Gentry and other Honest men being confined or under some qualification or other, could not, or dared not appear, particularly Col. *Berkstead*, and *Kiffin* the Anabaptist, by Voices of Red-coats, got themselves returned Knights of the Shire for the County of *Middlesex*, with Sir *William Roberts*, and Mr. *Chute*. (4 as the Instrument directed;) then in the Admission to the House, where a Recognition of his Highness and the Government by a single person, with a guard of Soldiers was ready placed, and unless each Member swallowed the one, he might not pass the other, by which means almost 200. were at the first dash secluded, those within taking no notice of the force, but referring the excluded to the Examination of the Privy Councel.

The first work this Parliament did was their declaring the Justice of the War against *Spain* (the *Cromwellian* party personating the Interest, and Honour of the Nation, that they might by that be looked upon for all this garbling, as a due representative, and so credit their ensuing By blows,) and a Reso-

lution

lution to assist the Protector in it. And next as the grand and Liminary work to *Oliver's* Regality, *An Act for the renouncing the Title of his Majesty, and the whole Line of King* James; seconded with another for the Security of His Highness person, in which they alledged the Peace and safety of the Nation was bound up.

And that this might appear more necessary and opportune, a Plot was hatched by *Cromwel* and *Thurloe*, for further quashing all *Levelling* and *Fifth Monarchy* designs against that party; a Book had likewise been lately divulged, styled *Killing no Murther*, wherein it was proved, that it was most lawful, just, necessary and honourable to kill him, and this printed with the Name of one *Allen* a disbanded Leveller, but so politely and learnedly written, that it intimated a more exact and curious hand; whosoever it was, it scared *Cromwel* almost out of his Wits, and made him betake himself to perventionary Artifices, and fright Assassinates with his Severity against the Suppositious Authors of pretended dangers.

This Scare-Crow was one *Miles Syndercombe* a disband of *Overton's* in *Scotland* by General *Monck* a Leveller and Fifth-Monarchist, both which parties he conjoyned in this trap, as most feared by him, by the wily Arts of *Thurloe*, who set one *Cecil* and *Toop* of *Cromwel's* Life-Guard, to urge this Male-content into a Conspiracy of the Protectors Death; This was readily assented to, and several Engines and Instruments fixed for that purpose and places appointed, and *Whitehal* Chappel to be fired; all which was from time to time discovered, and *Syndercombe* afther the last vain experiment, seized & arraigned

raigned, and after a careleſs defence convicted and ſentenced for Treaſon, which he avoided (as the Coroners Jury gave their Verdict) by poyſoning himſelf in the *Tower* the night before his Execution, and was drawn at a Horſe Tail to *Tower-hill*, and inhumed and a Stake driven through him under the Scaffold.

For this Delivery of his Highneſs the *Parliament* voted a Thankſ-giving, and attended him at the *Banquetting-Houſe* in *White-hall* with a gratulatory Oration, ſetting forth the Ruine that was intended in that Horrible Treaſon to the whole *Proteſtant Religion* throughout the World; with the like paraſitical deſigned falſhoods; but to the almoſt ſpoiling the Complement, the Stairs in the aſcending broke, and lamed *Richard Cromwel* and others, who for amends were invited to dinner there upon the Thankſgiving-day; and that Courteſie requited by a more gaudy Gift.

For the next day Alderman *Pack* (a great Exciſe Commiſſioner, and in greater Arrears for it to 30000*l.* and deep in the *Piedmont* Account) from the advantage of this *Royal* Treat, ſuddenly ſtarted a Motion like a Puppet jerkt with a Wire, that in regard of the ſtrange unſettlement and diſcompoſure of the Nation, and the minds of men, and the ill Aſpect it had upon forraign Princes, and all Trade; that therefore the Protector might be deſired to aſſume the ſtyle of King, as the moſt known and moſt agreeable Government: and preſently tooth and nail the Court party were at it; and after ſundry conſultations paſſed a Reſolution in order to his being Kinged by the ſecond part of the Inſtrument, called *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament*: which being now in debate we muſt purſue with a further Account.

The

The ſuitable political talk of the party of the Uſurper, was now engaged in ſtrained Arguments, for a Monarchy in the perſon of this their Ring-leader: and this Maxime was broach'd in the News-Book, That there was no everlaſting principle in Government as to any particular form, that Government is but a temporary expedient, that it is like *vltima tabula poſt Naufragium*, in the hazard of the Common-wealth the next ſhift may be made uſe of. The ſame was the inſpired reaſon into the Humble Petition and Advice, which after ſeveral debates and reſolutions was drawn into that Conſiſtency, the main whereof was to deſire the Protector to change that Title for the other of King. On the 9. of *April* the Parliament, having deſired a Meeting with him, came to the *Banqueting-Houſe* in *whitehall*, where Sir *Thomas Widdrington* in a Speech commended the Title and Office of a King, as ſetled here with Chriſtianity, approved by our Anceſtors, conſiſting with our Laws and Temper of the people, and then preſented him with the Module of the Humble Petition, *&c.* To this tender, *Cromwel* in a fit of Devotion, anſwered, *That it was a weighty matter, and therefore deſired ſpace to ſeek God, that the charge laid upon him was too great for him to bear without his Aſſiſtance; that the Engliſh were the beſt people in the world, and required therefore all tenderneſs and conſideration of their Liberties*, &c.

The next day a Committee was appointed to attend him, and receive his Anſwer, which being inſignificant, they upon report thereof reſolved to adhere to their Petition, and appointed a Committee of above half the Houſe to attend him, to receive from him his doubts and ſcruples touching any of the

the particulars contained in the Petition, &c. and to offer reasons for his satisfaction, for the maintenance of the Resolution of the House, and wherein they cannot satisfie to report. The chief of this Committee were Mr. *Whitlock*, Lord Chief Justice *Glyn*, Lord *Broghall*, *Lenthall*, *Liſle*, *Philip Jones*, *Fiennes*, *Strickland*, *Thurloe*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Charles wooliey*.

We have through these *Labyrinths* of his shifted Designs, now *clued* him to his *luſtful* and *adulterous* Usurpation, which the *nocturnal pollutions* of his *Dream* had so long before *fanſied* and *acted* in his thoughts.

This was the critical Time, and the very Juncture of his accompliſhment of all his projections upon the Crown, which now seemed to court his Brows by the complemental tender of a Parliament so pick'd and cull'd to his purpose. But it pleased God to rescue the Honour and Majesty of *England* from the profanation of his Temples, by some sudden emergent dangers, and suspicion he raised in his Breast, and to elude his Royal Phantasms with Rival and Democratick apparitions: His Oracles now ceased, and a lying Spirit was in the mouth of his Prophets, who in their preachments harped upon this Subject. Now that the Reader may know how the whole mystery and cabal of this Business was managed by the above mentioned Committee (who would fain have drawn *Oliver* under the yoke of Laws, and retrencht his exorbitant power of the Sword) and *Cromwel* (who feared they would fortifie his Title, and weaken his Tenure, and had notice that *Lambert* laboured in the Debauch of the Army) He is here presented with the sum of that abortive

Regal

Regal Conſultation, which like the Philoſophers Stone, or rather the Apples of *Sodom*, vaniſhed and periſhed in the Attrectation.

After many meetings and conferences together at *Whitehall*, the Commiſſioners being impowered to receive his Highneſſes Scruples, at his requeſt (the whole Affair being managed with Royal State and reſpect to him) they came to theſe Deſputes. It was alledged by the Committee who were to offer and make play, that the Title of King had been confirmed by all parliaments, for 1300 years, and the perſon, not the name diſpleaſing to any of them; That it was interwoven with the Laws, and the very conſent of this Parliament in being.

To this the Protector anſwered that theſe were ſuaſory, not convincing or compulſive Arguments; That the Title of the Protector might be made accomodable to the Laws, by the conſent of the Parliament, as well as the Title of King was made ſo by the ſame; that the Title of King would be diſpleaſing to many godly men, and Officers of the Army, who had declared againſt the Title and Office.

To theſe it was replied, *That the Title ought to be accommodated to the Laws, not the Laws to it. That Invention of Titles was ſuſpected as the Veil or Concealment of ſome deſign againſt the Publique; and that therefore the Parliament of England had ſcrupled the new Title of King of* Great Britain, *to King* James. *That if he regarded not his own Honour and Greatneſs, yet he ſhould reſpect the Honour and Reputation of the Kingdome. That the name of Protector had alwayes been unfortunate to the Kingdome during the Minority of our Princes, and alſo to themſelves. That it being given him by the Souldiery it ſounded of Conqueſt.*

*Conqueſt. That when the Kingly Title was aboliſhed in the* Roman Empire, *nothing but confuſion followed, nor could the State find Reſt, either under Conſul, or Dictators, or Prince of the Senate, until the pleaſure and will of* Cæſar *came to be acknowledged for Law.*

Other inſtances there were of the Commiſſioners, who ſeverally by order of the Committee delivered their Anſwers to him, as namely the Reaſon of the Change of the Stile of Lord to King of *Ireland* in *H.* 8. time, for the better and more regular Government of that Nation, and Examples of a neighbouring Proteſtant Kingdom of *Sweden*, who had crowned their Marſhal that took up Arms with them againſt their Soveraign, but their main Argument was drawn from the States of *9. Edw.* 5. & 3. *H.*7. by which all perſons were indemnified that took up Arms for the King in being, which was one and the chief reaſon ſaid *Whitlock*, why ſo many at firſt aſſiſted the King againſt the Parliament, and would be his Highneſſes caſe and ſecurity. And laſtly, to his Argument of diſpleaſing many godly men, and that providence ſeemed to croſs the Introduction of the Kingly Office by a ſeven years overthrow of it; He was anſwered that the Reduction of the Common-wealth to Monarchy, was a greater Act than from Monarchy to the Protectorate; That in all Governments ſome men would be unſatisfied, and that therefore his ſafeſt way would be to rely on this Settlement by the Parliament. But after all *Cromwels* fears ſurmounted his ambition, and he told them in a long *Harangue*, that he could not accept the Title of King it being againſt his Conſcience.

The Protector having refuſed the Title of King (awaiting a more opportune time and advantage to

reach to that top and height of his Ambition, which inwardly tormented him) was now by the Parliament to be confirmed in his former dignity: and a Committee called of the Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory part to the Humble Petition and Advice, in respect of the Protectors Oath, his Councils, the Members of Parliament, the other House, which was to consist of 60 and odd Lords of *Cromwel's* Election, of whom it will be needless to give an Account: all which with some Acts being prepared and finished, the *Protector* came to the *Painted Chamber*, and sent for the *Parliament*, where the Speaker tendred him these Acts of State, besides others relating unto Trade, *&c. An Act for Assessement of* 60000 l. *a Month, for* 3 *Months, from* March *for the three Kingdoms. Another money Act for* 50000 l. *for* England, 6000 l. *for* Scotland, *and* 9000 l. *for* Ireland. *An Act for preventing multiplicity of Buildings in and about the Suburbs of* London, *and within* 10 *Miles thereof; and a whole years Revenue to be paid for every Dwelling, or House built upon any new Foundation since* 1620. *and (this was the reason and soul of that Law.) An Act for punishing such as live at high rates and have no visible Estates: And lastly, for the observation of the Lords Day.* There was a Bill for ascertaining and satisfying the *Publick Faith*, that these *Parties* might seem to intend the ease of the People; but it was but once read and committed, and resumed afterwards to as much purpose very briskly by the Council of this *Protector*. At the Signing of these *Cromwel* made this short Speech.

*I perceive that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the*

*Parliament,*

*Parliament, to provide for the just and necessary support of the Common-wealth, by these Bills for levying of money, now brought to me, which I have given my Consent unto; and* understanding *it hath been the practice of those who have been chief Governours, to acknowledge with thanks to the* Commons, *their care and regard to the Publick: I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.*

The Principle substance of the Humble Petition, *&c.* was this.

1. *That his Highness, under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of* England, *&c. and to govern according unto all things in this Petition and Advice; also, that in his life time he would appoint the Person that should succeed in the Government after his death.* 2. *That he would call Parliaments consisting of 2 Houses once in 3 years at fartherest.* 3. *That those persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve Parliaments, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members.* 4. *In the fourth, was shewn the qualifications of Parliament-Members.* 5. *In the fifth, the power of the other House.* 6. *That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept, and no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated, repealed, or new Law made, but by Act of Parliament.* 7. *For a constant yearly Revenue,* 1000000 l. *to be setled for maintenance of the Navy and Army; and* 300000 l. *for support of the Government, besides other Temporary supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the Nations to require.* 8. *That the number of the Protectors Council should not be above* 21, *whereof the Quorum to be* 7, *and not under.* 9. *The chief Officers of State, as Chan-*

*cellors, Keepers of the great Seal,* &c. *to be approved of by Parliament.* 10. *That his Highneſs would encourage a godly Miniſtry in theſe Nations; and that ſuch as do revile or diſturb them in the Worſhip of God, may be puniſhed according to Law; and where the Laws are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf.* 11. *That the Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion be profeſſed & no other; and that a confeſſion of Faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of theſe Nations; and none be permitted by words or writings to revile or reproach the ſaid Confeſſion of Faith,* &c.

Which he having Signed, declared his acceptance in theſe words.

*That he came thither that day, not as to a Triumph but with the moſt ſerious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greateſt burthens, that ever was laid upon the back of any humane Creature; ſo that without the ſupport of the Almighty, he muſt ſink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of theſe Nations. This being ſo, he muſt ask help of the Parliament, and of thoſe that fear God, that by their Prayers he might receive aſſiſtance from God: for nothing elſe could enable him to the diſcharge of ſo great a duty and truſt.*

*That ſeeing this is but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of theſe Nations, and there being many things which cannot be ſupplied, without the aſſiſtance of the Parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them; not that he doubted, for the* ſame Spirit, *that had led the Parliament to this, would eaſily ſuggeſt the ſame to them. For his part nothing would have induced him to take this unſupportable burthen to fleſh and blood, but that he had ſeen in the Parliament a great care of thoſe things, which might really*

*anſwer*

*anſwer the ends that were engaged for, and make clearly for the Liberty of the Nations, and for the intereſt and preſervation of all ſuch as fear God under various forms. And if theſe Nations be not thankful to them for their Care therein, it will fall as a ſin upon their heads.*

*Yet there are ſome things wanting that tend to Reformation, to the diſcountenancing vice, and encouragement of vertue; but he ſpake not this as in the leaſt doubting their Progreſs, but as one that doth heartily deſire, to the end God may Crown their work, that in their own time, and with what ſpeed they judg fit, theſe things may be provided for.*

There remained only the Solemnity of the Inauguration or Inveſtiture, which being agreed upon by the Committee and the Protector, was by the Parliament appointed to be performed in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; here at the upper end whereof, there was an Aſcent raiſed, where a Chair and Canopy of State was ſet, and a Table with another Chair for the Speaker, with Seats built Scaffold-wiſe for the Parliament on both ſides; and places belovv for the Aldermen of *London*, and the like. All which being in a readineſs, the Protector came out of a Room adjoyning to the Lords Houſe, and in this order proceeded into the Hall. Firſt went his Gentlemen, then a Herald; next the Aldermen, another Herald, the Attorney General; then the Judges (of whom Serjeant *Hill* was one, being made a Baron of the Exchequer, *June* 16.) then *Norroy*, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and the Seal carried by Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, then *Garter*, and after him the Earl of *Warwick* with the Sword born before the Protector, bare-headed, the Lord Mayor *Tichborn*

carrying the City Sword (being the ſpecial Cokes of the Protector) by his left hand: Being ſeated in his Chair, on the left hand whereof ſtood the ſaid *Tichborn* and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, the *French* Ambaſſador and the Earl of *Warwick* on the Right; next behind him ſtood his Sons *Richard*, *Fleetwood*, *Cleypole*, and the Privy Counſel; upon a lower deſcent ſtood the Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Lords *Mountague* and *Whitlock* with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker (Sir *Thomas Widdrington*) in the name of the Parliament, preſented to him a Robe of Purple-Velvet, a Bible, a Sword, and a Scepter, at the Delivery of theſe things, the Speaker made a ſhort Comment upon them to the Protector, which he divided into four parts as followeth.

1. The Robe of Purple; *This is an Emblem of Magiſtracy, and imports Righteouſneſs and Juſtice: when you have put on this Veſtment, I may ſay you are a Gown-man. This* Robe *is of a mixt colour, to ſhew the mixture of Juſtice and Mercy. Indeed a Magiſtrate muſt have two hands*, Plectentem, & amplectentem, *to cheriſh, and to puniſh.*

2. The Bible, *it is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happineſs to be well vers'd. This Book of Life conſiſts of two Teſtaments the Old and New: the firſt ſhews* Chriſtum Velatum, *the ſecond* Chriſtum Revelatum: *Chriſt veiled and revealed: it is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good Government.*

3. Here is a Scepter, *not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the weak and poor; it is of ancient uſe in this kind. It's ſaid in Scripture, that* the Scepter ſhall not depart from Judah. *It was of the like uſe in other Kingdomes;* Homer *the Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes* Scepter-Bearers.

4. The

4. The last thing is a Sword, *not a Military but Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of defence than offence: not to defend your self only, but your People also. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the valiant Lord* Talbot *had upon his, it should be this,* Ego sum Domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum, *I am the Lord Protectors to protect my people.*

This Speech being ended, the Speaker took the Bible and gave the Protector his Oath: afterwards Mr. *Manton* made a prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, Parliament, Council, the Forces by Land and Sea, Government and People of the three Nations to the protection of God. Which being ended, the Heralds by Trumpets proclaimed his Highness Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. At the end of all, the Protector with his Train carried by the Lord *Sherrard*, *Warwick*'s Nephew, and the Lord *Roberts* his eldest Son, returned in the same posture, the Earl of *Warwick* sitting at one end of the Coach against him, *Richard* his Son, and *Whitlock* in one, and the Lord *Lisle* and *Mountague* in the other Boot, with Swords drawn, and the Lord *Cleypole* Master of the Horse, led the Horse of Honour in rich Caparisons to *Whitehall*. The Members to the Parliament House, where they adjourned their sitting to the 20 day of *January*.

He was now setled and established in his first assumed Dignity, to the satisfaction of some part of the Army; only *Lambert* was gravelled with that clause in which it gave the Protector power to name his Successor. Whereby he saw himself deprived and

fruſtrated of his Hopes, and that Contract that had paſſed between them. *Cromwel* therefore to ſecure himſelf, ſet the Army Regiment after Regiment to ſubſcribe Addreſſes congratulating his legal Authority, and declaring their readineſs to aſſert Him therein with their Lives and Fortunes; being the very ſame Method *Lambert* uſed before to prevent any Deſigns againſt him in the Army, when he was left upon his own bottom by the Parliament before.

In the mean time a more potent Enterprize was formed by the Kngs Intereſt, and the appearance of the Marquiſs of *Ormond* (as my Lord *Wilmot* from beyond Sea, was engaged before in *Penruddock*'s riſing in the Weſt) about *Suſſex*, whither ſome *Engliſh* forces for *Flanders* in the Kings pay and ſervice were to have been tranſmitted; but by traiterous diſcovery of two former eminent Royaliſts, whom *Cromwel* by great Penſions had corrupted, one a Knight, the other a Miniſter, and one that had a hand in the killing of *Rainsborough*, the whole Intrigue was diſcovered, the Marquiſs narrowly eſcaping back again to the King, who was diſpatching General *Marſin* with his Forces then in readineſs.

He was no ſooner rid of the danger of this, but he was puzzled with *Lambert*'s Cabal, who had inveigled and almoſt debauch'd *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, *Cromwel*'s neareſt Relations with his but emulous pretended Democratick principles; ſo that *Cromwel* (having diſſolved the Parliament at their acceſs in *January*, when according to the new Inſtrument they met in a full Houſe, and began, and were reſolved to undo all again that had paſſed during their Seclusion, nor would own the other Houſe of upſtart Mechanick Lords, but flew ſo high as the bringing *Oliver*

into

into queſtion for thoſe confuſions of the State) was now in as tickliſh a condition as ever: therefore *Lambert* was gently laid aſide, and his Commiſſion taken from him, and his Regiments diſpoſed to better hands, and Spies and Eves-droppers diſperſed through the Army to give him Intelligence of their Affections and Inclinations.

This made him moſt ſuſpiciouſly fearful, ſo that he began to dread every perſon or ſtrange face he ſaw (which he would anxiouſly and intently view) for an Aſſaſſinate, that Book of *Killing no Murther* perpetually running in his mind; It was his conſtant Cuſtom to ſhift and change his Lodging, to which he paſſed through twenty ſeveral Locks, and out of which he had four or five ways to avoid purſuit: when he went between *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court*, by private and back ways, but never the ſame way backward and forward, he was always in a Hurry, his Guards behind and before riding a full Gallop, and the Coach always filled, eſpecially the Boot with Armed perſons, he himſelf being furniſhed with private weapons; and was now of more than difficult acceſs to all perſons.

A Plot was again on foot, and like a Mongril deſign that had no iſſue, was made up one half by the Cavalier, & the other half by himſelf (who was ſure not to be behind hand in ſuch deſigns) for which Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Dr. *Hewyt*, and three other private perſons loſt their lives by a High Court of Juſtice, the ſeverity whereof ſo afflicted or affected the mind of his Daughter *Cleypole*, that falling ſick with the pains and torments of an Ulcer, in her *Inteſtines*, and the ſtopping of her terms, which made her frantick, ſhe never ceaſed roaring againſt that bloudy man her Father.

He

He was now again adorned with another Succeſs and Triumph, by the Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Army and ſurrender of *Dunkirk* into his hands, *Lockhart*, his Kinſman and General of the *Engliſh* Forces, being made Governour thereof: which I am conſtrained to paſs without any further remark, and from the height of this glory, level him with the duſt of other Mortals.

The Kingdom was now almoſt ſtupified and tired out with ſtrugling againſt his Government and Domination, when it pleaſed God to call him to account of all that Miſchief he had perpetrated; uſhering his End with a great Whale ſome three months before, on the 2 of *June*, that came up as far as *Greenwich*, and was there killed, and more immediately by a terrible Storm of wind, that prognoſticks that the great *Leviathan* of men, that Tempeſt and overthrow of Government, was now going to his own place.

He was taken ſick at *Hampton-Court*, having not been well in mind ſome time before (troubled with the laſt frantick words of his beloved Daughter *Cleypole*, who threatned Judgment like another mad *Caſſandria*, and with the inſinuations and encroachments of the Republican party into the Army; nor were moſt of his Relations taint-free of thoſe principles, were but winding towards them:) the diſeaſe was a baſtard Tertian which appeared not at firſt of any danger, but after a weeks time it began to ſhew very deſperate Symptoms; wherefore he was removed to *Whitehall*, where his Chaplains and others of that pious Family, kept private meetings and Faſts for his recovery; of which they were ſo vainly confident that they obtruded their unſeaſonable thanks to God for the certainty of it, and with the

ſame

ſame unſeaſonable flattery and pick-thank with the Protector, deluded him into the like perſwaſion, ſo that he told his Phyſicians, *He ſhould not die this bout*; but the Fits proving worſe and worſe, and cauſing him to talk idlely, and to faint often; They in Council concluded, he could ſcarce ſurvive another Paroxyſm; at which the Privy Council being aſtoniſhed, they immediately repaired to him about his ſetling a Succeſſor, whom by the Petition he was to declare in his life-time; but he was then ſcarce then himſelf, which they perceiving, interrogated him, if he appointed not his Son *Richard*? whereunto he anſwer'd in the Affirmiative. It was ſuppoſed that he had deſigned *Fleetwood* in his ultimate thoughts, but the diſtraction of the choice betwixt his Son and Son in Law, had made him leave it undetermined (a private Will he made at his firſt ſickning at *Hampton-Court*.) Continuing in this condition, he died on *Friday* the ſaid 3 of *September*, at 3 of the Clock in the Afternoon, though divers rumors were ſpread, that he was carried away in the Tempeſt the day before: his body being opened and Embalmed, his Milt was found full of corruption and filth, which was ſo ſtrong and ſtinking, that after the Corps were Embalmed and filled with Aromatick Odours, and wrapt in Cere-cloth, ſix double, in an inner ſheat of Lead, and a ſtrong Wooden Coffin, yet the filth broke through them all, and raiſed ſuch a noiſome ſtink, that they were forced to bury him out of hand; but his name and memory ſtinks worſe.

The Corps (preſently after his expiration) being buried for the aforeſaid reaſon, a Coffin was on the 26 of *September*, about 10 at night privately removed f om *Whitehall* in a Mourning Herſe, attended

ded by his Domeſtick Servants, none of whom ſhed one Tear, to *Somerſet-Houſe*, where it remained in private for ſome days, till all things were in readineſs for publick view; which being accompliſhed, his Effigies was with great ſtate and magnificence expoſed openly; multitudes daily flocking to ſee the ſight which appeared in this order.

The firſt room where the Spectators entred, was wholly hung with Black: at the upper end whereof, was placed a Cloth and Chair of State: In like manner was the ſecond and third, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans placed in each room for people to paſs through. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black Velvet the Cieling being of the ſame; here lay the Effigies with a large Canopy of black Velvet fringed, which hung over it. The Waxen Picture lying upon its back apparrell'd in a rich ſuit of Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple Velvet, laced with a rich Gold Lace, fur'd with Ermines; upon the Kirtle was a large Robe of Purple Velvet, laced and fur'd as the former, with rich ſtrings and taſſels of Gold. The Kirtle was girt with a rich embroidered Belt, wherein was a Sword bravely gilt and hatched with Gold, which hung by the ſide of this *fine thing*. In the right hand was a Scepter, in the left a Glob; upon his head was placed a Purple-Velvet Cap furred with Ermines, ſutable to the Robes; behind the head was placed a rich Chair of Tiſſued Gold, whereon was placed an Imperial Crown which lay high that the people might behold it. The Bed of State whereon he lay, vvas covered vvith a large Pall of black Velvet, under vvhich vvas a Holland Sheet, born up by ſix ſtools covered vvith Cloth of Gold. About the Bed vvas placed a

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compleat Sute of Arms, and at the feet of the Effigies ſtood his Creſt. This Bed had fixt about it an Aſcent of two ſteps, a little from thence ſtood 8. ſilver Candleſticks, about 5. foot high, with white wax Tapers ſtanding in them, of three foot long. All theſe things were environed with Rails and Ballaſters fourſquare covered with Velvet; at each corner thereof was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops Lions and Dragons, who held in their paws Streamers crowned. On both ſides of the Bed were ſet up in Sockets, four great Standards of the Protectors Arms, with Banners and Banrols of War, painted upon Taffaty, about the Bed ſtood men in mourning bearheaded; and without the Rails others to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this ſhew had been ſeen for many weeks together, the Scene was then altered; the Effigies being removed into another room, it was there ſet up, ſtanding upon an Aſcent under a Cloath of State; being veſted as it was before, lying: only now his purple-Velvet-Cap was changed for a Crown. In the ſame manner (as formerly) were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this manner he continued until the 23. of *Nov.* which day was appointed to carry him in Solemnity to *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

This great Funeral was performed with very great ſtate, in this manner following. All things being in readineſs, the waxen Picture of the Protector (with a Crown on his head, a Sword by his ſide, a Globe and Scepter in his hands) was taken down from his ſtanding, and laid in an open Chariot, covered all over with black Velver, and adorned with moſt gaudy and flanting Plumes and Scutcheons, and drawn by 6. horſes in black Velver. The Streets from *Somerſet-Houſe*

to

to *Westminster-Abby*, were guarded by Soldiers in new Red-coats and Black Buttons, with their Ensigns wrapt in Cypress; which made a Lane to keep off Spectators from crouding the Actors.

The Procession.

*In the first place went a Marshal attended by his Deputy, and* 13 *more on Horse-back, to clear the way; after him followed the poor men of* Westminster *by two and two in Mourning Gowns and Hoods, next to them, the servants of those persons of Quality that attended the Funeral. These were followed by the Protectors late domestick Servants, with his Barge-men and Water-men. Then came the Servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of* London. *Following them, were Gentlemen Attendants on Foraign Ambassadors and Publick Ministers. After marched the poor Knights of* Windsor *in Gowns and Hoods: then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treasury, Navy, and Exchequer: next, the Commissioners of the Excise, of the Army, and Committee of the Navy. Then the Commissioners for approbation of Preachers: behind these followed all the Officers, Messengers and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and both Houses of Parliament. Next in order followed his Physicians, The head Officers of the Army, the Officers and Aldermen of* London, *the Masters of Chancery, and* Oliver's *Council at Law, the Judges of Admiralty, Judges of both Benches, and Lord Mayor of* London, *The Persons allied to the Protector, and the Members of the other House, the publick Ministers of Foraign Princes, The* Holland *Ambassador alone, having his Train held up by* 4 *Gentlemen. Then the* Portugal *Ambassador, in like manner, The Commissioners of the great Seal The Commissioners of the Treasury. The Members of the Privy Council. All the Grandees inclose*

*Mourn-*

*Mourning (but it was once adviſed otherwaies for fear of a ſurpriſe in the ſtreets) the reſt but in ordinary.*

*The whole Aſſembly, paſſing along in diviſions, were diſtinguiſhed by Drums, Trumpets, Banners, and Horſes, whereof there were eleven in all, four being covered with black Cloth, and ſeven in Velvet. Theſe paſſing in fine order, at length came the chariot with the Effigies, on each ſide of which were ſix Banner-Rolls, (twelve in all) born by ſeveral perſons; and likewiſe ſeveral pieces of the Protectors Arms, carried by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went* Garter *principal King of Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each hand bareheaded. Next came the Chief Mourner. And to conclude all, came the Horſe of Honour, in very rich Trappings imbroidered on crimſon Velvet, and adorned with white, red and yellow plumes of Feathers, beingled by the Maſter of the Horſe. The Rear of this brave ſhew was brought up by the Protectors guard of Halberdiers, the Warders of the Tower, and a Troop of Horſe.*

The Effigies in this manner being brought to the Weſt-Gate of the *Abby-Church* of *Weſtminſter*, it was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, who carried it to the Eaſt-end of the Church, and there placed the Picture in a moſt magnificent Structure, built in the ſame form as one before had been (on the like occaſion) for K. *James*, but much more ſtately,

And here he lodged and *uſurped* a *grave*, the impatient Spectators fretting at this pompous Mummery and Magnificent *Cheat*, taking his Funeral Triumphs for a more ſolemn *Cozenage* of the Executioner, till the due inevitable Juſtice of Heaven found him out, after the reduction of His Sacred Majeſty in peace to His Kingdoms, which would very difficulty have been accompliſhed, if this reſolute deſtroyer had ſurviveq to that bleſſed time.

On the 30. day of *January*, 1650, that day 12 years of his most nefarious parricide, his Carcass with *Bradshaws* and *Iretons*, having been digged out of their Graves, were carried to the *Red-Lyon* in *Holborn*, and from thence drawn in Sledges to *Tyburn*, where they hanged from Ten of the Clock in the Morning till Sun-set, with their Faces towards *Whitehall*, and were then inhumed under the *Gallows*, and his Head set upon *Westminster-Hall* to be the becoming Spectacle of his Treason, where on that *Pinacle* and *Legal Advancement* it is fit to leave this Ambitious Wretch.

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*FINIS.*

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